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ABSTRACT

Issues concerning the participation of women in college administration in Australia are presented in this conference report. Of concern were structural and attitudinal barriers to greater participation of women in educational management and the role of government in fostering equal opportunity. Included are an overview of the conference, conference papers, and recommendations from the conference. Paper titles and authors are: "Directions for Change" (Denise Bradley); "A Vice-Chancellor's Perspective" (Robert Segall); "A Union Perspective" (Jo Gaha); "Changing Opportunities for Women in Universities: A Question of Responsibility and Will" (Gretchen Poiner); "The Politics of Merit and the Exercise of Power: Issues in the Promotion of Academic Women to Positions of Influence" (Clare Burton); "Attitudinal Barriers to the Participation of Women in Educational Management" (Bronwyn Davies); "Changing from the Middle" (Joanne Chickering); "Equal Employment Opportunity: A Perspective on the NSW Institute of Technology" (Suzanne Jobson); "The Australian National University" (Marian Sawer); "The Road to Equal Employment Opportunity for Women in Higher Education in New South Wales" (Joan Bielski); "Progress in New South Wales: Affirmative Action in Universities and Colleges of Advanced Education Under Part IXA of the Anti-Discrimination Act of New South Wales" (Hester Eisenstein); "Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission's Plans for Equal Opportunity in the 1985-87 Triennium" (Gregor Ramsay); and "The Government Role in the Achievement of Equal Opportunities: An Advanced Education Council Perspective" (Maureen Bickley). (SW)

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THE AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

THE WAY FORWARD:

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

REPORT OF A NATIONAL CONFERENCE,
18-20 JULY 1984, ARMIDALE, NEW SOUTH WALES.

Edited by
Shirley Randell

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To the authors for their contributions.

To the Conference Planning Committee, the chairpersons of conference sessions, the leaders of conference workshops and all participants in the conference for their contribution.

SHIRLEY RANDELL

FOREWORD

In 1983 the Council of the Australian College of Education, whose president was at that time Dr Eva Eden, Principal of Janet Clarke Hall, University of Melbourne, sponsored a national conference on the Participation of Women in Educational Management. The moving force in that conference was Ms Shirley Randell - now President-elect of the College.

The general recommendations of the Melbourne conference were sent to all governments, and to the commissions, departments and other organisations to which they appeared to be relevant. Many of these organisations, in acknowledging the accompanying letter, expressed their support for the sentiments they contained. It is pleasing to report that, close to home, the recommendations moved the College Council deliberately to increase the proportion of females from approximately one fifth to one third of its own membership. It is good to report that there has been a considerable demand for the papers which were published following the conference.

The Australian College of Education is a professional association which represents education at all levels and in all parts of Australia. Its members include infant school teachers, college lecturers, university professors, departmental administrators, teachers from primary and secondary schools, both government and non-government, and TAFE personnel. Of its 5,500 members some ten per cent are fellows and these constitute, in effect, an academy of education in Australia. The College is not affiliated with any political, union, or other group. It can, therefore, speak for education in an objective manner which is beyond the capability of most other educational organisations. It is the policy of the College to encourage dialogue on educational issues, recent areas of discussion ranging from multiculturalism through copyright matters to the education of women and girls and the place of the computer in education.

I am, therefore, particularly pleased that the College was able in its Jubilee year to act as a catalyst for this Conference on Women in Higher Educational Management and that it could share this role with such a distinguished organisation as the University of New England's Institute for Higher Education, of which Dr Bob McCaig (an active Fellow of the Australian College of Education) is Director.

The papers printed in this volume reflect the concerns of those who attended the Conference. Their recommendations are destined to have considerable influence on the decisions of those responsible for the role of Women in Higher Educational Management in Australia. The College is delighted to be able to publish this report in the hope of furthering discussion and understanding in this important area.

Emeritus Professor W G Walker, A.M.
President

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments iii

Foreword v
Bill Walker

Introduction 1
Shirley Randell

Overview 2
Shirley Randell

Directions for Change 9
Denise Bradley

STRUCTURAL AND ATTITUDINAL BARRIERS TO GREATER PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT

A Vice-Chancellor's Perspective 17
Robert Segall

A Union Perspective 22
Jo Gaha

Changing Opportunities for Women in Universities: A question of responsibility and will 26
Gretchen Poiner

The Politics of Merit and the Exercise of Power: issues in the promotion of academic women to positions of influence 35
Clare Burton

Attitudinal Barriers to the Participation of Women in Educational Management 44
Bronwyn Davies

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

Changing from the Middle 59
Joanne Chickering

Equal Employment Opportunity: a perspective on the NSW Institute of Technology 72
Suzanne Jobson

The Australian National University 80
Marian Sawer

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN FOSTERING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The Road to Equal Employment Opportunity for Women in Higher Education in New South Wales 93
Joan Bielski

Progress in New South Wales: Affirmative Action in universities and colleges of advanced education under Part IXA of the Anti-discrimination Act of New South Wales 105
Hester Eisenstein

CTEC's Plans for Equal Opportunity in the 1985-87 Triennium 110
Gregor Ramsay

The Government Role in the Achievement of Equal Opportunities: an Advanced Education Council perspective 118
Maureen Bickley

Appendix 1 Recommendations 125

Appendix 2 List of Participants 138

Appendix 3 University and College of Advanced Education Overview Contributors 145

Appendix 4 Contributors to this Publication 146

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Shirley Randell

Dreams often outpace reality in the struggle for equality for women in various facets of life. The path of progress towards justice for women in higher education is littered with half-realised dreams - the ideas for change that failed to take into account the traditional inertia of institutions, and those that failed to acknowledge the human aspects, the resistance of both men and women to challenging the status quo. Frequently this gap between expectation and reality has come about because inadequate attention has been given to careful analysis of the position of women. The experience of others has been ignored and proposals for improvement have not been explicit enough. The National Conference on the Participation of Women in Higher Educational Management was one opportunity to close this gap.

The conference was one of those rare times when it seemed we had the opportunity to influence the direction of a major change in tertiary education. 1984 was the year when the Commonwealth Government passed Anti-Discrimination Legislation and announced an Affirmative Action Plan for Women. It was the year when several Australian tertiary institutions created equal employment opportunity positions, established equal employment opportunity committees and announced a commitment to improving the position of women. It seemed that 1984 was a time when those of us engaged in the struggle for equality for women could be allowed the indulgence of our dreams as we sought a way forward.

The reality though, is that to many it is not obvious where improvements have been made. The dreams are so remote, the task so immense that without building a support infrastructure and providing funds, without placing a high priority on the training and development of women and without preparing the groundwork for the proper monitoring and evaluation of progress, any grassroots commitment will be shortlived.

The conference was the second stage of what the Australian College of Education hopes will be a continuing national assessment of the participation of women in educational management in Australia. The national network of women committed to achieving significant progress in the area has been expanded.

The purpose of this report is to distill the major proceedings and findings of the conference for a national audience. The report will have served its purpose if it helps bring together the experiences of some and the dreams of others. Then the reality might be something to look forward to.

O V E R V I E W

Shirley Randell

Background

In 1982 the national Projects Committee of the Australian College of Education declared the issue of the participation of women in educational management in Australia to be a priority. In February 1983 the Council approved a grant for a national conference as the first stage of a national assessment of this topic. The proceedings of this conference have been published in *Changing Focus: The Participation of Women in Educational Management in Australia*. The Council approved a further grant in 1984 towards the sponsoring of a second conference on the participation of women in higher educational management.

Aims and Outcomes

The aims of the conference were:

- to share knowledge about the extent of participation of women in educational management and the policies, programs and processes being developed by practitioners in higher education institutions;
- to identify attitudinal and structural barriers to greater participation by women in educational management;
- to open avenues for the professional development of women in educational management;
- to explore the rationale of public policy promoting equality of opportunity for women in educational management;
- to formulate proposals for action consistent with the principles of equity in relation to decision-making structures, curriculum offerings, industrial relations, anti-discrimination, legislation, financial planning, policy formulation and personnel;
- to disseminate findings throughout Australia; and
- to recommend appropriate action to the participating organisations.

Participants

Invitations were sent to vice-chancellors and directors of all higher education institutions in Australia requesting them to support the conference by sending a team of men and women, including a senior

opportunity officer or member of the equal employment opportunity committee if established. All universities responded and most colleges of advanced education sent at least three people.

In addition, invitations were sent to the State Boards for Higher Education and to senior women known to be interested in the topic. This group included all women professors, Aboriginal women and women from non-English speaking backgrounds.

Finally, the conference was advertised through *ACE News*, the newsletter of the College.

The response was gratifying - over one hundred and twenty people attended, about a third of whom were men (Appendix 2).

Pre-conference Activity

Prior to the conference a set of education readings was distributed to all participants. These included the recommendations relating to higher education from the 1983 Melbourne conference on the Participation of Women in Educational Management, the 1983 statistics on women academics in universities, a press release of the Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee on women on the staff of universities, and articles on affirmative action.

Institutions were asked to prepare background papers on current developments (listed in Appendix 3). Copies of these responses, which were received from a majority of institutions, are available on request from the Executive Director, Australian College of Education, 916 Swanston Street, Carlton.

Program

The conference was held on 18-20 July 1984 in the Mary White College of the University of New England - the conference was jointly sponsored by the Institute of Higher Education at the University. Speakers were chosen for their special knowledge and expertise and three workshop sessions were held. These were organised according to categories of participants and functional areas of educational management: policy formulation, financial planning, curriculum, staffing, research, professional development, industrial relations and anti-discrimination legislation.

The conference was opened by the Chancellor of the University of New England, Dr Robert Robertson-Cunningham, and the Director of the Institute for Higher Education, Dr Robert McCaig, who welcomed participants to Armidale. The President of the Australian College of Education, Professor William Walker, provided some background to the event.

Keynote speaker, Ms Denise Bradley, Dean, Faculty of Education and Humanities, South Australian College of Advanced Education outlined action that could be taken by governments, co-ordinating authorities, institutions, professional associations and women working together to improve the representation of women in the administration of higher

education. She touched on the reasons for women's poor participation in this area, noting that higher education, despite its principles of identifying and rewarding merit, had adopted at best a passive approach to this problem. Ms Bradley advocated initiatives such as the Affirmative Action Pilot program, internship programs and networking as important for change.

On Thursday morning the opening session was devoted to examining structural and attitudinal barriers to greater participation. Professor Robert Segall, Acting Vice-Chancellor, Griffith University provided a vice-chancellor's perspective. He presented an essentially conservative account of university life, identifying areas where women's skills have been denied, how they are regarded as 'invaders of the workforce' and the paternalism of those who surround them in the university environment. Nevertheless, he argued that there was no evidence to suggest that vice-chancellors or other senior academics should be any more resistant to the advancement of women than other male university staff of the same age. Yet their conservative temperament suggested that affirmative action programs would bring only gradual change with some advances being made in the medium term in general staff and 'non-traditional' occupations.

Ms Jo Gaha, Vice-President of the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations spoke from a union perspective. She described how women in the six New South Wales universities have joined with those in colleges to form the group 'Women in Tertiary Institutions' to work towards equal opportunity for women on campuses and in the union structure. The invisibility of women when choices were made for important committees and other decision-making bodies was a serious attitudinal barrier. She suggested placing women in managerial positions in institutions within an affirmative action framework, as has happened within education unions.

Dr Gretchen Poiner, Senior Research Fellow, Vice-Chancellor's Office, University of Sydney argued that changing opportunities for women in universities was a question of responsibility and will. Universities certainly have responsibilities for the promotion of social justice within their walls even though their wider responsibilities as watchdog for the values and practices of the broader society maybe contested. The burden for subject crowding and occupational segregation cannot be laid solely at the feet of women. Universities must take active steps to challenge generally unevaluated assumptions about men's and women's capabilities and their life patterns to increase the participation of university women, students and staff over a range of subject areas. This will inevitably affect the sex profile of employment at large.

Dr Clare Burton, Lecturer, Department of Administrative Studies, Kuring-gai College of Advanced Education spoke on four issues relating to women's participation in education management: their lack of participation on committees precludes them from an important source of experience and contact with other staff, affecting their opportunities for advancement; the societal belief that women do not perform as well in positions of authority as do men and the difficulties men have in accepting the direction of women relates to very different constructions of the relationship between home and work by men and women; women's experience of subordination in society helps them to be

more sensitive as administrators to the needs of others as a result of their own frustrations in getting their concerns on the public agenda; and current evaluations of competence and merit might constitute forms of indirect discrimination under the existing legislation, and meritocratic criteria should be re-examined.

The final paper on attitudinal barriers, given by Bronwyn Davies, Lecturer in Education, University of New England discussed their relation to the gender-based division of labour in society. She presented two ways women can move into positions of management. The first was by the tortuous method of masculinising themselves as far as is feasible, by engaging in a great deal of feminine support work to reduce the threat of their position to others, and by learning in whatever way they can the competitiveness deemed necessary by men for their job. The second requires a radical revision of current attitudes, structures and beliefs and involves the acceptance of women on their own terms, the serious valuing of the skills and knowledge that women have, the dissociation of masculinity with power and the recognition that current family and work structures can be destructive.

The second session on Thursday addressed itself to the processes of change. Dr Peter Wilenski, Chairman, Commonwealth Public Service Board spoke on how change might be fostered by the education bureaucrat. He described some elements of strategies which have been successful. A political strategy should be developed which takes account of inevitable resistance to change. The climate should be established through legislation, high-level support from outside eminences, co-option of neutrals onto prestigious committees, symbolic behaviour which sets the tone, changing duty statements and selection criteria, rewarding supporters, penalising transgressors and involving as large a number of people as possible in changing behaviour. In establishing an equal opportunity unit, adequate resources must be provided, constant public support must be given, linkages with other EEO units should be established and the unit should be given a role in decision making. The organisation as a whole should be tackled so that piecemeal change might be avoided and the organisational culture can change. Alliances should be built with people and groups within the organisation and with outside groups which support EEO. Targets are essential so that performance might be measured and progress assessed. Such measurement must be in terms of outcomes rather than inputs.

Overseas visitor, Dr Joanne Chickering, Personal Counsellor, Center for Student Development, Memphis University described processes of change from an American perspective. Perceptions have changed of what is possible - young women and men can stay single longer and choose a wider variety of careers. Role models are increasing on public media and in political places. Legislation at federal and state levels has required affirmative action programs, which have increased the numbers of women in middle management. Litigation has had ripple effects leading to structural changes in selection and hiring of staff and better informal monitoring of the letter and spirit of the law. Coalitions and networks growing at rapid rates across the middle are reinforcing change that has occurred.

Ms Suzanne Jobson, Equal Employment Opportunity Officer, University of Sydney provided a perspective on equal employment opportunity from her experiences as the equal opportunity co-ordinator at the New South Wales Institute of Technology in 1983-84. She described the process the Institute followed in developing its policy, the manner in which it was introduced and the administrative structure developed for policy implementation. Both philosophical and practical issues were addressed and a commitment was made at the institutional level to accepting the need for changes to occur, despite limited employment and promotional opportunities, entrenched attitudes and prejudices, fear of change and resistance to the entry into areas of Institute life of those who belong to a group which is different from the people who already predominate.

Another case study was provided by Dr Marian Sawer, Political Science, Australian National University. Dr Sawer described the employment of women at ANU. Her study found that the higher up the hierarchy the smaller the proportion of women, and the effective participation of men in the upper levels was related to their minimal participation in domestic labour. Fewer women were to be found on the academic staff of ANU than at other Australian universities and colleges. There was a manifest tension between the goals of the institution - to conduct research of national importance - and the sex imbalance associated with the national prestige of the institution, leading to research being skewed away from some specific areas, and eliminating the experience of half the nation. Factors favouring change at the ANU included Commonwealth Government policy, commitment from the top, congruence of EEO recommendations with pre-existing objectives, occupational health considerations and the collective organisation of women. Factors favouring the status quo included academic autonomy, economic constraints, the concept of academic excellence and decision making by committees.

On Thursday evening Senator Pat Giles, Vice President, Australian Labor Party and Chairperson, Caucus of Women Committee gave a lively lighthearted after dinner speech in which she encouraged affirmative action in higher education. Following the conference dinner participants were favoured with entertainment by Armidale women artists in extracts from the production 'Mirrors: looking at Women'.

The final major session of the conference was devoted to the role of government in fostering equal opportunity. Ms Joan Bielski, Officer-in-charge, Social Development Unit, Office of the Minister for Education began by providing an historical perspective of the New South Wales experience. In 1979 the Premier of New South Wales wrote to all Ministers stating 'that Government appointees to all boards and committees, including educational governing bodies and committees, should, wherever possible, include women'. Beginning in 1981 the Government, through the Higher Education Board and the Minister for Education repeatedly raised with tertiary institutions the absence of women from educational management and the consequences for curriculum, research, resource allocation, budget submissions and the criteria for selection and promotion. The lack of action prompted women's staff associations and unions to lobby the Government and in 1983 tertiary education was scheduled under Part IXA of the New South Wales Anti-

Discrimination Act. This legislation required compliance in an affirmative action program and has begun to produce the results exhortation and example failed to achieve.

Dr Hester Eisenstein, Assistant Director, Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment reported on the progress in universities and colleges in implementing the Act. She provided data on the staffing of EEO projects in the six universities and fifteen colleges preparing EEO management plans which are required to be lodged on 1 June 1985. Problems in this process include the conflict or lack of understanding between the EEO officer and the already established feminist activist community at the institution, and the phenomenon of 'too many cooks'. The obligation of the EEO officer to consult fully at every stage of the process conflicts with the task of producing a report that will meet the deadline. Adequate communication, information sharing and resource provision will help to overcome these problems.

The final speaker Ms Maureen Bickley, Member Advanced Education Council, Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission read a paper prepared by Dr Gregor Ramsay, Commissioner CTEC as well as delivering her paper. Dr Ramsay described the CTEC objectives for tertiary education in the 1985-1987 triennium, including the promotion of greater equity in the provision of tertiary education opportunities for particular disadvantaged groups. Ms Bickley summarised sections of the Advanced Education Report concerning equal opportunity and drew out their implications for women's participation in decision making. Two varying approaches to the achievement of equal opportunities were examined: the broadly based facilitation approach through recurrent grants versus the earmarking of funds for special purposes concerning women and other disadvantaged groups. She argued that interventionist policies adapted to the individual institutions must be promoted to produce equity.

Papers delivered at the conference are included in the main body of the report and the background of contributors is listed in Appendix 4.

Recommendations developed in workshops were presented during the closing plenary session of the conference. The response of workshops was over-whelming. Most recommendations were based on principles enunciated throughout the conference: namely the fundamental right of women and men to share equally in the benefits of all higher education programs and to be equally responsible for their management; equitable representation of women and men in policy formulation and decision making in higher education; improved access to professional development in higher education management, which may entail special provision for women and improved information collection and dissemination relation to higher education management. The recommendations were wide ranging covering policy, funding, structure, statistics, personnel, professional development and research and were directed to the Australian College of Education, the Commonwealth and State Governments, the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission and its Councils, the Office of the Status of Women, State co-ordinating

bodies for higher education, unions, tertiary institutions, and other higher education organisations and women's bodies. The recommendations were subsequently forwarded to all participants for endorsement.

Since the Conference the Executive of the Council of the Australian College of Education has approved the publication of the report and referred recommendations to relevant people, authorities and organisations. Favourable responses have been received from many of these agencies.

The Armidale conference was a fruitful second stage of the Australian College of Education's national assessment of the participation of women in educational management. In 1985 the College is jointly sponsoring with the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority a third conference which will be directed at women in management in primary and secondary education.

Despite increased publicity and action to improve the participation of women in education management, conference speakers confirmed that the rate of change was alarmingly slow. It was asked whether setting up the world so that numbers of men and women were evenly balanced was enough. Promoting a female elite within patterns set by men was challenged by many conference participants. The way forward must include not only implementing strategies to ensure that higher education institutions more highly value women and allow their talents to be more freely exercised, but also an analysis of those traits and activities in the Australian culture which might be promoted to move institutions in more humane directions. Improving working environments for women improves them for men too.

DIRECTIONS FOR CHANGE

Denise Bradley

Introduction

This paper begins with the assertion that there are too few women teaching, undertaking research and managing in higher education institutions in Australia. The talents, intelligence and insights of half the population are being wasted by institutions which are expected to foster such things. Why should this be?

Two common explanations for women's invisibility in positions of status and power are neatly summarised in the following answers to a question about whether it is more difficult for a woman to achieve and handle a position of authority in a university:

> Because this is a male dominated institution and to achieve and hold such a position a woman must compete on male terms and generally be better than men.
>
> Women are conditioned to be submissive and passive on the whole and to achieve and hold a position of authority requires initiative and firmness.
>
> (Cass et al., 1983:112)

As we explore reasons for the current situation and strategies for action to change it, we must debate these answers in order to reach some agreement on which explanation is the more likely. Is it the structural and institutional explanation connected with the education system and the processes of recruitment, selection and promotion in the academic world which is the useful one to pursue? Or is it the ideological explanation (with its constant danger of 'blaming the victim') stressing expectations about males and females, which are internalised by both sexes and affect decisions both make about work and family life?

The Current Situation

There are few women at the highest levels in universities and CAEs in Australia. Unlike primary and secondary schooling where over 60 per cent of teachers in Australia are women, higher education is a male dominated area of employment. In universities women comprised 16.3 per cent of teaching and research staff in 1980 and 16.7 per cent in 1983, but over this period there was a decline in the actual number employed from 1,732 to 1,710. Three-quarters of all female academic staff in universities hold lecturer or tutor positions, but two-thirds of all male staff are at senior lecturer or above (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

TABLE 4.6

FULL-TIME TEACHING-AND-RESEARCH STAFF AT AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITIES, BY GRADE AND SEX, 1980 AND 1983

	Males				Females				Persons				Proportion of females at each level in 1980	Proportion of females at each level in 1983
	1980		1983		1980		1983		1980		1983			
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	per cent	per cent
Professor	1,072	12.1	1,025	12.0	23	1.3	25	1.5	1,095	10.3	1,050	10.2	2.1	2.4
Associate professor/ reader	1,214	13.6	1,330	15.6	54	3.1	64	3.7	1,265	11.9	1,394	13.6	4.3	4.6
Senior lecturer	3,148	35.4	3,297	38.6	285	16.5	344	20.1	3,433	32.3	3,640	35.5	8.3	9.4
Lecturer	2,220	25.0	1,877	22.0	527	30.4	502	29.3	2,746	25.9	2,378	23.2	19.2	21.1
Senior/principal tutor	476	5.3	378	4.5	311	18.0	299	17.4	787	7.5	676	6.6	39.5	44.2
Tutor	755	8.5	633	7.4	532	30.7	478	27.9	1,288	12.1	1,111	10.8	41.3	43.0
TOTAL	8,882	100.0	8,540	100.0	1,732	100.0	1,710	100.0	10,614	100.0	10,250	100.0	16.3	16.7

Source: CTEC, *Report for 1985-87 Triennium*, Vol 1, part 3, page 65.

Among the general staff of universities, 50.4 per cent were women in 1982 but the women are concentrated in a few occupational groups and clustered as clerical and junior administrative officers.

Of the 23.1 per cent of full-time and permanent part-time female academic staff in CAEs in 1982, the data available (see Table 2) indicates once again that the employment pattern of women in CAEs in academic positions is similar to that of women in the general population - women are under-represented at senior levels and their participation at junior levels is low, with concentration in the bands of lecturer and below. (There appear to be no figures available for women's participation as non-academic staff in CAEs.)

Women's participation in the lower levels of higher education institutions must be taken into account in any strategy to increase their numbers at higher levels. At present, significant administrative positions in higher education institutions are reached either by promotion through the ranks of administrative non-academic staff, or through the ranks of the academic staff. The major positions of power and influence are reserved for those members of universities and CAEs who have successfully competed from within the academic staff. As the rules for this particular competition have some features unique to these institutions and are not shared, for example, by large bureaucracies, it is necessary to examine rather carefully how academic staff are trained, recruited, selected and promoted. The distinct career route available to 'general' or 'support' or 'administrative' staff in such institutions seems to be similar to that in the Public Service and, indeed, their conditions of service are often modelled on State Public Service conditions. It is the path unique to higher education institutions that deserves analysis as it may help us to see how to improve women's participation at more senior levels.

TABLE 2

FULL-TIME AND PERMANENT PART-TIME ACADEMIC STAFF IN COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION, 1977 AND 1982

Job classification	1977		1982	
	All staff	Women	All staff	Women
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Above senior lecturer	627.5	8.4	715.5	9.6
Senior lecturer	1,579.0	12.3	1,046.4	11.6
Lecturer	4,473.0	24.3	5,110.8	27.0
Other teaching staff	843.0	40.5	598.5	44.7
	7,522.5	22.3	8,472.2	23.1

Source: CTEC unpublished data, taken from *Affirmative Action for Women*, Vol. 2, p.53.

Many of the writers about women in higher education

> ... emphasize the crucial role of the 'structure of the academic career' as a barrier to the advancement of women in academe. It is a structure which rests on the assumption that academics will not take time out for child-bearing and child-rearing and that they will have domestic support systems behind them, most commonly referred to as wives.
>
> (Cass et al., 1983:202)

The academic career appears to favour those people who have the opportunity for continuity of service, the stomach for competing at every level, and some form of emotional and social support which allows their absorption in research early in a career in order to gain a reputation. Expectations about aspirants to the academic career are clearly at odds with the traditional expectations about women in relation to family life. As a result, there has been greater loss of women at every 'choice' point in the process.

Differences between numbers of males and females who have gained post-graduate qualifications in Australian universities show one of the crucial points at which women drop out of the career path:

> ...men have gained more than 90 per cent of all Ph.D degrees awarded by Australian Universities since this qualification was introduced in the 1940s. In addition, more than 80 per cent of all Masters degrees ever conferred by Australian Universities have been gained by men.
>
> (Over, 1981:174)

Despite signs of change exhibited by the higher proportion of women gaining post-graduate qualifications, there seems little doubt that it continues to be a hard struggle for them to resolve the conflicts inherent in a decision to seek the post-graduate qualifications basic to an academic career. This would be bad enough if there were not disturbing signs that there are other pressures at work on women in Australian universities. Two recent Australian studies (Cass et al. and Over) suggest that most women, and many men, in universities perceive them as institutions that discriminate against women. Over's cautious appraisal is that

> The possibility needs to be explored that women have had to meet different and more demanding criteria than men for appointment and promotion to senior positions.
> (Over, 1981:174)

In summary, then, women are poorly represented in senior management in higher education; are clustered at lower levels among the general staff; where they appear, are at the lowest levels among the academic staff; and face great personal conflicts at points of choice in the academic career path. The higher education institutions faced with this information have until recently exhibited little responsiveness to suggestions that they discriminate against women and that they need to take action to end this state of affairs. The Commonwealth Public Service, some States and big companies like ESSO have been more responsive than those institutions which pride themselves in seeking out and rewarding merit. The lack of concern about the low participation of half the population in research, in tertiary teaching and governance, must call into question the right to academic autonomy of institutions which deal with questions that affect the whole population in the enclosed and self-congratulatory atmosphere of an exclusive old boys' club - a club supported by public funds and the unpaid and low paid efforts of wives, mistresses, typists, administrative officers and research assistants.

Directions for Change

Three interrelated strategies for change are anti-discrimination legislation, affirmative action legislation and networking. Legislation which defines the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and imposes sanctions is a necessary first step for action, but cannot alone improve women's access to areas of the labour market which have been denied to them. South Australia has had such legislation now for nearly ten years, but it has not markedly improved women's participation in male-dominated areas. Further steps must be taken to enable women to improve their employment prospects. Usually affirmative action is suggested as the next institition-wide strategy to adopt after anti-discrimination legislation. As the Carnegie Council describes it, affirmative action:

> ...means action to eliminate discrimination; creation of more adequate pools of talent, active searches for talent wherever it exists, revision of policies and practices that permit or abet discrimination; development of expectations for a staff whose composition

> does not reflect the impacts of discrimination, provision of judicial processes to hear complaints and decision-making without improper regard for sex, race or ethnic origin.
>
> (Carnegie Council, 1980:63)

The new policy discussion paper, *Affirmative Action for Women*, proposes a pilot program in three tertiary institutions for one year. At the same time more than twenty private companies are participating in the program. Affirmative action as used in this paper means a systematic and consultative process, compatible with appointment and promotion on merit which will lead to equal employment opportunity for women. A careful reading makes it clear that there are likely to be unique problems of implementation in tertiary institutions in relation to academic staff, because such institutions operate within a model which has been characterised as 'organised anarchy' and because there appear to be supply problems which relate to a lack of suitably qualified females in some areas. Nevertheless, the anecdotal evidence and concerns raised in various reports suggest these institutions would do well to embrace affirmative action. There must be grave suspicion about many of their practices until affirmative actions plans are developed which:

- have a public commitment by senior staff;
- have a senior staff officer to coordinate the program;
- operate from a basis of consultation;
- undertake a statistical analysis of the workforce;
- review personnel policies and procedures;
- develop and implement a program with short-term goals and targets and longer term recruitment and training proposals; and
- monitor and evaluate implementation.

The pilot program in the three tertiary institutions and affirmative action legislation foreshadowed in the policy paper are good news for those with a concern about these issues, but I must comment on the coincidence of the publication of the *Affirmative Action for Women* discussion paper and the CTEC *Report for the 1985-87 Triennium* within weeks of each other. It is as if the CTEC and its two Higher Education Councils had never noticed that sex discrimination legislation was before Parliament and affirmative action an item on the public agenda. The Reports of the two Higher Education Councils, the Universities Council and the Advanced Education Council, are brief and bland on issues concerning female participation or female involvement as staff members in these institutions are there are no recommendations about these issues. In neither Council's Report is there a statement of concern about the poor representation of women as staff members, let alone in administration and management. The CTEC Report commends the TAFE Council for initiatives in staff development for women and supports the appointment of equal opportunities officers in higher education institutions, but even so, it does no more than suggest these issues need further exploration. The Councils of the CTEC must begin to deal with such matters in a sensitive way or be accountable for their failure to do so. Certainly a policy commitment to action by government and affirmative action at institutional level must be reflected

in CTEC and its two Councils. Both support in principle and allocation of human and financial resources for national co-ordination are required.

A significant task CTEC could undertake is the co-ordination and funding of programs for women who aspire to management in higher education. There are several United States models at institutional, State and national levels.

One pilot training program in North Carolina which will be used for the development of a manual of leadership training for higher education institutions in the United States was funded under a grant from the US Department of Education (White, 1983:18). Both the source of financial support for development as well as the content of the program could well be noted by CTEC and its Councils. A well-developed manual for training women for management in Australian higher education institutions and some funds for trainer training would not be exorbitantly expensive. It would allow each institution serious about action, to operate a training program by modification of a model rather than replicating the expensive and time-consuming processes of development in each institution. CTEC could also adopt the approach of the American Council on Education's *National Identification Program* which is a formalized network with a supporting structure in each State (Green, 1982:20). This brings together at State level women who are aspirants to management positions to discuss issues of common concern. In addition, a series of national meetings allows women to participate in one or two day meetings which are issue oriented and allow them to interact with each other and session leaders on shared concerns. Such programs are considered to be successful by participants and also by the institutions which support them. As one writer has said:

> ... the act of identifying and recognising the capabilities of these able and ambitious people is the first and key step. Then, critical linkages are developed with others who aspire to and are advancing towards leadership positions. Third, though not necessarily in this sequence, the network is extended to reach into the ranks of leaders who by virtue of their experience and positions can help aspiring men and women to achieve their goals. Supportive peer groups and access to the established leaders and power-holders are the key elements...
>
> (Green, 1982:20)

We might pursue another form of networking ourselves. There is no national professional association for women who aspire to management or who are managers in education. If we support such a professional association, that is concerned with support for women in educational management; exchange of information between women, and advocacy for legislative and policy change to improve opportunities in educational management, there seem to be three possible options. We could:

. negotiate with the Australian College of Education or the Australian Council for Education Administration to see if either is prepared to support the establishment of such a women's group within their association;

. negotiate with Australian Women's Education Coalition to determine its attitude to a special group within it which is concerned with the specific issues of women in management;

. form our own association.

It may be useful to discuss possibilities for such a network during this conference and to consider its possible advantage to women in Australia at present. Perhaps both our institutions and government would be more receptive to suggestions for investigation or for change which arise out of national discussion and debate?

Conclusion

The position of women in the management of higher education is only likely to improve slowly but improve it will. Signs of change are evident everywhere. The Commonwealth and some State Governments are concerned that higher education institutions become equal opportunity employers. Employees in the institutions, through their unions, are indicating that they consider equal employment opportunity to be a major issue and there have been statements of support and commitment to action by many universities and CAEs. Equal opportunities officers have been appointed in several institutions. Nevertheless, higher education has been slow to move and there are still pockets of resistance throughout the country. Government policy and legislation; coordination and support from CTEC; institutional action; and good networking by women should speed the changes and ensure that management of higher education better reflects the contributions of the whole population.

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STRUCTURAL AND ATTITUDINAL BARRIERS TO GREATER PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT

A VICE-CHANCELLOR'S PERSPECTIVE

Robert Segall

Introduction

The function of this paper is to examine the problem facing women in universities, and to comment on ways in which a vice-chancellor can contribute to the process of overcoming those problems. It is of course quite important to examine the role of the university bureaucracy in the implementation or the possible failure of affirmative action programs.

When the Government's Green Paper, *Affirmative Action for Women*, was released, the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations issued a press statement saying that the Green Paper would do little for women in universities. To quote from Ms Jo Gaha in the same FAUSA press statement of the 6th June 1984, 'It must be remembered that the AVCC (Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee) is an employer organisation. As such, it cannot be expected to represent the interests of university staff'.

Is there a conflict between the employers and university staff in the affirmative action area? Is the real conflict, if we stick for the moment to faculty staff, between employer and employee or is it predominantly between men and women? Faculty staff in universities are exceptionally individualistic and ambitious and are commonly more concerned with their scholarly activity or their own advancement than with a collective struggle with their employer.

In any case I do not find the conventional left wing argument about the resistance of employers to affirmative action wholly convincing. It is certainly true that there are innumerable historical instances of employer-led discrimination but there are equally many examples of trade union opposition to equality in the work place. Provisions which excluded women from certain apprenticeships and certain categories of employment such as underground mining are clearly discriminatory and were consistently supported by the unions. More importantly, it can be argued that increased profits can result from an affirmative action program because of increased efficiency through more effective use of the available workforce, lower turnover and better morale.

This issue is complicated somewhat by the employers' possibly erroneous, perception of their commercial interest. In universities, however, I believe there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that vice-chancellors or other senior academics should be any more resistant to the advancement of women than the generality of male university staff of the same age.

Women in the Workforce

Edna Ryan in her perceptive introduction to Game and Pringle's *Gender at Work* lists four main precepts which have determined women's condition in the workforce. First, women's skills have been denied. Secondly, women have been regarded as invaders of the workforce. Thirdly, there is the paternalism of working men, employers and the courts. Finally, the segregation of the sexes at work has made it easier to deny women equitable pay. I think it might be wise of me to say nothing about the third of these.

Invaders of the Workforce

If we focus on academic women it seems to me that the predominant precept has been the 'invaders of the workforce' argument. This proposition would account for another peculiarity of the university situation. Wheres faculty staff have been in the vanguard of a great variety of liberal campaigns, the record of universities world-wide on equal opportunity has been more or less uniformly hopeless. Thus, while it is safe enough in terms of their own jobs for male academics in liberal democracies to champion the cause of the oppressed in Chile or to object to a dam on the Franklin River, things are a little different when it comes to promoting women tutors. The same argument might go some way towards explaining the remarkable number of opponents of affirmative action among senior women academics. I am not of course suggesting that there is a conscious resistance to the advancement of women on the part of men or indeed of any of the famous 2.4 per cent of Australian women professors or that they might feel their own achievements diminished if they were shared by more women.

Women's Skills

The question of the 'denial' of women's skills in the academic world is rather more subtle. If we exclude the comparatively few cases of overt, blatant discrimination and look for systemic effects it seems to me that a major problem lies in the definition of merit. It is not of course a new observation, but it is worth repeating, that the principal concern in making an appointment must be the *expected future performance* of the staff member. Naturally the chief measure of this is past performance. However, to compare a female and a male forty-year-old in competition for a Chair and to look only at volume and quality of publications, without allowing for the fact that the woman applicant was out of the workforce for a decade (rearing children for example), is plainly discriminatory. Nevertheless, this has been and indeed is still commonplace in Australian universities. It is erroneously defended as being part of the merit principle. It is in fact an application of that much older principle, 'unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance'.

Concern for Teaching

The other major factor is the greater concern women commonly feel for the quality of their teaching. This has been discussed at length in *Why So Few* where *inter alia* the work of Jessie Bernard (*Academic Women*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964) is cited:

> Academic women, then, have performed some of the hardest work that has to be done by academic institutions, the grinding drudgery of unchallenging introductory courses and have thus released academic men for the more rewarding assignments, graduate courses in new and more exciting areas of the professor or 'man of knowledge' role.

In essence it is claimed that the 'caring' role into which women are socialised makes them more concerned teachers. This fact, together with the emphasis on research as a prime criterion for promotion, has in this analysis been a major factor in disadvantaging women.

This is of course an area where a vice-chancellor could have an interventionist role. At Griffith University we are currently looking for methods of giving greater emphasis to teaching performance in promotion considerations. The present plan is to ask referees more specific questions than has been usual. In particular, referees could be asked to comment on specific aspects of teaching which the candidate has already identified as those that the referee is most competent to comment upon. Similarly, the candidates might be asked to provide specific information and to answer specific questions in their applications: details of courses taught; assessment results; evidence of student attitudes; and comments on the assessment results. It may be that such reforms will make a significant contribution to a better recognition of the skills of women academics.

Time Pressures

There is one other observation which is worth recording. Although the proportion of senior women academics is small, the proportion of women in senior roles as academic bureaucrats is even smaller. The all-male AVCC is well known but at the recent conference of chairpersons of Australian University Academic Boards the same pattern was repeated. Indeed it is well known that chancellors, vice-chancellors, deputy vice-chancellors, pro-vice-chancellors and other 'heavies' are nearly all men. My impression from talking to a very limited number of senior women academics is that they have found it a great struggle to make time in their lives for teaching, research, child rearing and taking some note of the ordinary human needs of their friends. They then feel that to take on the additional battle of a major administrative commitment is just too much. In addition women, on good evidence, perceive these jobs as male in that there is a strong and improper presumption that a wifely support system comes cost free with the office holder. Further, the office holder is seen as moving in the almost exclusively male mafia of boardrooms and clubs.

Role of the Vice-Chancellor

The role of the vice-chancellors despite their identification with the employer is of course not simple. In the *Affirmative Action Implementation Manual* of the Affirmative Action Resource Unit of the Office of the Status of Women in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet there is a model Draft Policy Statement. One sentence in it runs, 'I, and all senior management of the company, strongly endorse the operation of the program'. Now of course this is a model, not to be slavishly copied by the tertiary institutions in the Pilot Program. Nevertheless, it illustrates an important point about the difference, between say ESSO and Griffith University: namely, the 'senior management' of Griffith University can tell me politely or indeed impolitely what to do if I purport to speak for them. Some distinguished scholar, say a much respected professor in an Australian university, is at perfect liberty to express publicly sexist views or concerns about the racial composition of this country. Moreover, we are all properly committed to defending the rights of academics to make disgraceful statements.

I believe that most of the advances in universities in the medium term will be in the implementation of affirmative action in the general staff area. There are more women employed as general staff than as faculty staff. There is greater turnover among general staff, giving greater scope for improvement. Finally, the inequalities are probably more gross than among faculty staff, and there are whole areas which are 'non-traditional' employment for women, where changes can be made.

This again raises questions about the possible role of the vice-chancellor and the limitations on the process of change. In this area the university is in many respects a normal employer and the various factors listed in the quotation from Edna Ryan all apply. Can the universities play a special role by virtue of their particular circumstances? Are universities better placed to undermine the gender-specific employment practices surrounding typing and secretarial work? Can universities encourage their white collar unions to be more conscious of their responsibilities in the advancement of women?

One immediate problem is that the universities are of course particularly wedded to the ideology of the superiority of mental to manual labour. The gender-specific occupations such as typing and secretarial work have been the chief place of employment of women in university administration. We must take the opportunity of increasingly introducing staff from traditional women's occupations into the administrative hierarchy. This will create competition for the men on the university general staff and they, not surprisingly, are not notably more enlightened than their academic brethren. In this whole area the role of the vice-chancellor in collaboration with an equal opportunity officer can be important. It seems to me that to set up an adversary situation between the vice-chancellor as employer and the workers is an error and the white collar unions which represent general staff would be unwise to follow the FAUSA model. The FAUSA stance seems in some ways to result from a facile elision of

the category of owner and manager. It is not at all evident that for the foreseeable future the self interest of university vice-chancellors is in conflict with the interests of women members of the general staff.

The other area where there is scope for action by an equal opportunity officer with the backing of a sympathetic academic and general staff bureaucracy is that of so called 'non-traditional' occupations. There are very few women drivers, fitters and turners and maintenance staff in most Australian universities.

Conclusion

This rather conservative account of university life results not only from a conservative temperament but also from experience. The affirmative action program in universities will need more than simple slogans if significant changes are to be wrought in our lifetime.

A UNION PERSPECTIVE

Jo Gaha

Introduction

Over the last few years in New South Wales universities have been very active in pursuing equal opportunity on campus. They have formed women's organisations in each of the six NSW universities and joined with women from colleges to form the group Women in Tertiary Institutions (WITI) to work towards affirmative action for women in education. Many of the women involved in these groups worked through their unions, lobbying for inclusion under Part IXA of the *Anti-Discrimination Act*, to improve conditions for women on campus and to implement affirmative action strategies within the unions themselves. And we have now reached managerial positions within our unions.

Federation of Australian University Staff Associations

The union that I represent, the Federation of the Australian University Staff Associations (FAUSA), is committed to affirmative action for women in universities and within its own structure. In recent years, women have become active in managerial positions within the union although this has not always been the case. FAUSA was formed in 1982; the first woman was elected to its executive in 1971. That year FAUSA reaffirmed its policy on discrimination and set up a working party on the status of women in Australian universities.

By 1982 there were two women on the six-person Executive, the Affirmative Action Committee was formed and members elected to it to develop and pursue FAUSA's affirmative action policy. Constitutional amendments were set in motion to create another vice presidency and the 1983 Council allocated the portfolio of affirmative action to one of the vice presidents to be elected at the next general meeting. At that meeting three women were elected to the now seven-person executive, probably making FAUSA the only union in Australia to have women disproportionately overrepresented on its executive in relation to membership.

Women within FAUSA actively pursued management or executive and committee positions recognising the crucial importance of gaining access to the decision-making and policy-implementation structures in achieving a real voice within the organisation, both at the staff association and the national levels. Pursuing these positions has taken time and effort and has at different stages been a difficult process. Unfortunately I think it will be an even more difficult process for women to achieve comparable managerial status within universities.

As FAUSA has not developed an explicit, written perspective on women and educational management I shall extrapolate from general FAUSA material on discrimination and to some extent present my own personal view.

Women in Educational Management

I am taking educational management, for the purposes of this paper, to mean such things as the senior bureaucracy of a university, namely the vice chancellor, his (and here I am safe in saying his) assistants, governing bodies, academic boards and their committees, deans, department heads, promotion committees and the like.

Comprehensive figures are not available as to the percentages of women and men in these positions across Australian universities, yet I think I can conservatively assume that women are under-represented in these managerial positions. They require a particular level of seniority before appointment to such a position. As women are poorly represented in senior positions in universities, the structural barriers to greater participation in educational management can be seen as a compounding of the systemic discrimination which initially limits women's access to employment and promotion within the organisation. Many facets of systemic discrimination have been explored and developed to date in the discussion of equal employment opportunity within universities and I shall not dwell on the issue of structural discrimination.

Attitudinal Barriers

I would like to look briefly at some of the attitudinal barriers, remembering of course that attitudes can create and then become entrenched within structures.

1. In every aspect of society's sex-role system women have colluded. Within academe some women have colluded with the masculine road to power and reached very senior positions. The attitudes then embodied in having succeeded, make it much harder for other women to succeed. This phenomenon masks the structural barriers that exist for women and ignores the particular set of unusual circumstances or privileges that may have facilitated a particular woman's progress.

2. There exists a group of stereotypic attitudes about women as managers which act as barriers. For example:

   'Women are not suited to management'
   'They are not hard headed'
   'Women are too emotional to make rational decisions about finance'
   'Men won't work under a woman'

   through to more complex and subtle attitudes that lead to women being -

3. *Invisible* when choices are made for important committees and positions. In recent years, with the awareness developing that at least one woman needs to be on each appointment and promotion committee and other decision making bodies, the same small set of women are asked to fulfill these tasks. They become overworked and spend an inordinate amount of time on these tasks and away from their own work and research interests.

I think there is a greater pool of women available to be used in these positions than is recognised. Somehow women are just *not seen* when appointments to managerial positions are made. They are not known, their names are not put forward and the same known group is called upon time and time again. This invisibility is in part related to the process of homosocial reproduction referred to in Clare Burton's earlier paper *Documenting the Power Structure in Academic Institutions*.

The way women are socialised has also made it more difficult for us to draw attention to ourselves, to make ourselves visible and actively to seek positions of power and authority. We are still learning how to be visible and to be considered when appointments are made or elections occur. Also many feel that to wield power is a tainted, sordid activity to be avoided for fear of contamination.

4. Another attitudinal barrier to the greater participation of women in educational management is the notion of the 'collegiate' nature of universities and the assertion that there is not a true employer/employee relationship within a university. Historically, the idea of a 'collegiate' seems very much to be a masculine notion of a body of scholars, of 'men of knowledge', who operate within concepts such as the 'gentlemen's agreement'. Women are attitudinally and linguistically excluded and through processes of patronage, networking and homosocial reproduction men continue to reach positions of authority within the 'collegiate'.

> FAUSA's attitude is that even though universities are 'communities of scholars' and that to a great extent the 'collegiate' exists, there is in each university a quite distinct and identifiable employer group even though members of that group may be, in other roles, part of the collegiate.
> (FAUSA Newsletter, 79/5, Special Issue, October 1979)

This focus on the employed and the employer helps to open one of the doors to greater participation of women by militating against the masculine values embodied in the notion of 'collegiate' and by being realistic and pragmatic about the work situation, recognising that individuals can function in different capacities and roles at different times. The focus on employed and employer also recognises that disputes can and do arise and that on occasions it is essential to have recourse to an outside arbiter. The Anti-Discrimination Board and the Human Relations Commission are examples of such outside arbiters that are essential for women employees.

Conclusion

Legislation for affirmative action is a necessary, although not sufficient, step for the greater participation of women in educational management. Again affirmative action involves outside judgments and sanctions being brought to bear within the institution. Without this the task of gaining equality of opportunity and participation is an extraordinarily difficult one, even if there exists goodwill on the part of the employer.

There are strong arguments for moving women in at the top to managerial positions in educational institutions within an affirmative action framework, as has happened within education unions.

In a position of power within a union, my experience has been that I have become far more of a threat than I have experienced before, even though I have identified myself as a feminist for many years. On reflection, I am not surprised at this. Feminism, affirmative action and ordinary women moving into positions of authority are threatening, signifying that structures within society can change and are changing. Changing the sexist nature of our workplaces and our unions inevitably means that deeper changes in personal lives and lifestyles will occur. Most men do not see that they too stand to gain from these changes and fear of the incremental changes in the familiar society must in part be behind the strength of opposition to affirmative action for women.

CHANGING OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN UNIVERSITIES; A QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY AND WILL

Gretchen Poiner

Introduction

Over the last few years we have all become familiar with the pattern of women's engagement in Australian universities as both staff and students. They feature more prominently at the lower levels of tertiary education and employment but their numbers diminish disproportionately further up these ladders. Thus, in 1982, while female students totalled 45.6 per cent of all bachelor enrolments in Australian universities they represented 30.8 per cent of higher degree candidates. The process of attrition in higher levels is evident in the breakdown of this overall percentage, for while 33 per cent of masters enrolments were women they made up only 26 per cent of Ph.D. candidates (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BY TYPE OF ENROLMENT AND COURSE LEVEL, 1982.

Course Level	Women (N=67360) as a percentage
Doctorate (other than Ph.D.)	11
Ph.D.	26
Masters degree (total)	33
Research	34
Coursework	32.5
Total higher degree	30.8
Bachelors degree	45.6

(Source: ABS University Statistics, 1982.)

If we turn our attention to the gender profile of academic staff, women constitute 16.5 per cent of the total academic and research population but at the senior levels of appointment, that is senior lecturer and above, they represent only 6.8 per cent. At the junior levels they constitute 29.7 per cent of the population. That only 2.4 per cent of all professorial appointments are women attests the very slight nature of the gains made in recent years.

Looking at general staff we see that women represent 50.4 per cent of this broad employment category. Unlike the academic structure, there is no simple horizontal segmentation in the hierarchy of employment. The general staff is occupationally segregated with a series of internal and discrete job ladders with variable promotion prospects. Published Australia-wide figures on how women are distributed in senior and junior appointments are not available. I suspect, however, that they would plot in much the same way as the picture represented

by Jane Nichols (1984) drawing on unpublished Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission data for 1982. She notes that women comprised 34.4 per cent of general university staff. They constituted 69.8 per cent of typists and clerical workers but only 4.4 per cent of senior administrators.

Statistics and Discrimination

This pyramidal form of women's representation in universities is mirrored time and again in other hierarchically defined contexts. The question is, can be deduce discrimination from such a distribution? A simple-minded response is dangerous for, of course, the figures do not speak for themselves. But while at the level of independent data they are not sufficient proof of discrimination they certainly demand closer attention, for as Over says:

> The paucity of women at senior levels of university appointments seems difficult to explain without reference to discrimination.
>
> (Over, 1981:73)

Insofar as jobs which are prestigious and financially rewarding are occupied mainly by men, and women are mostly found at the other end of the range, then clearly the statistical profile indicates that women do not enjoy the same benefits as men in employment. I refer to the preface of a paper produced in the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs:

> When differences are regarded as unjust they cease to be merely differences and become instead inequalities. When such differences arise from barriers or limitations solely on the basis of sex then such inequalities turn to direct discrimination.
>
> (Keogh and Heinicke, 1983:2)

The unequal structuring of employment returns is not a simple consequence of lesser abilities or even ambition but of culturally-fostered misunderstandings of sex differences and gender relationships. It thus constitutes discrimination. I stress that there is nothing natural about men, and not women, being senior administrators or about women generally acquiring some types and levels of qualifications and men others. It is a consequence of existing social structures and social attitudes and expectations held by both audience and actors, that is, by both women and men.

Questions of Responsibility

The figures on the distribution of women in university employment give rise to the question: Does a university have any responsibility to change that pattern, and if so in what measure? Before we are in a position to respond directly to that fundamental question a series of other issues must be addressed. What, for example, is the function of a university? At base this might be said to be to foster the harvesting, conservation, development and dissemination of knowledge. As such it involves not only investigation but evaluation of the

knowledge gained and the uses to which it might be put. With a specific focus on social enquiry we might well ask: What if an injustice should be identified in the course of some such research and established as currently operative? Does the university pursuing that work have a responsibility to seek to institute or stimulate change to redress or alleviate the injustice?

On the one hand it might be argued that as a leader in the arena of education and research with an acknowledged function as social critic, a university, having identified injustice, has some charge to work towards eliminating it. Counterpoised there is the argument that universities are, and must be, apolitical in their position and practice and that endeavours to bring about social change are essentially political acts - the question of injustice being irrelevant. In these terms a university has no charter to exert social influence beyond its walls and indeed should not. In elaboration of this position, knowledge can only exist with a reference point, which notwithstanding the force of history, lies in present society. Any challenge to present society is inevitably part of the mosaic of knowledge and thus places an onus on universities, specifically through people in relevant sections of the institution, to understand the debate constituting the challenge. On the basis of that understanding, individuals are entitled to, indeed may have the burden of moving to, effect social change. This action is, however, undertaken as individuals although the commission of understanding is directed at universities as institutions.

There are two immediately visible difficulties in the proposition that universities are located outside any political arena. First, the very identification of injustice can be construed as political; either as an aspect of investigation or as an action which is likely to have political consequences of some order at some time. Secondly, to shun the promotion of social change in the face of identified injustice is, in itself, political.

We should, however, recognise that even an avowedly non-political stance need not betoken advocacy of total inaction, for a university must be answerable for the elimination of injustice within its own walls, although perhaps no more so than any other institution or organisation in the society. However one interprets the responsibility of universities or of other sectors of tertiary education, this level of accountability must surely be acknowledged.

Without spelling out in detail an affirmative action approach, it is clear that some of the steps a university can take to ensure equity in its domestic arrangements are those which are seen as an essential part of any equal employment opportunity program. These would include a critical appraisal of the occupational distribution of female staff set against an investigation of personnel practices and procedures, and, in co-operation with unions and employees, the development and implementation of practices which would assist in the advancement of female employees and the monitoring of the success of actions taken.

While these are important and necessary steps they are by no means sufficient. Women's life chances, as reflected in their employment at university, may be inhibited by attitudes and practices which prevail in the broader society, although they are extended to university and may be recreated and even amplified there. The pivotal point is the belief that women's primary role is as mothers and wives and that male/female relationships, while culturally expressed, are biologically or somehow 'naturally' based. My concern here is on an outgrowth of that thinking - on unevaluated assumptions about appropriate careers for women and the qualifications required for them. It is limited because in this context I shall not take into account the education or training of women which occurs outside a university but which certainly determines not only the career paths they might follow but how far they can go. It is significant, for example, that most of the junior positions on general staff are secretarial/keyboard/clerical. Given how the qualifications are defined (a limitation not necessarily extended to their application) and in conjunction with the structure of employment opportunities, there is little chance of advancement to senior ranks. The issue I specifically address is of occupational segregation in subject fields which have as their training ground university courses and from which academic staff are recruited.

The blame for their low representation in certain positions and absence from others is frequently foisted on women themselves. 'They do not apply' is the claim, suggesting a process of self-selection. Such attribution of accountability to the subjects themselves deflects attention from institutional forms and arrangements and the ideologies on which they are premised which favour men in the employment stakes (see Burton, 1984). It is a naive and distorted view of social process contributing to the recreation of inequality. By way of further explanation defendents of the *status quo* sometimes add that women do not apply because they are not there in any numbers, or perhaps at all. That is to say, there are few or no women with the appropriate qualifications in the relevant field. There is truth in this claim. The idea of a female professor of say civil and mining engineering will be no more than an idea for some time yet. The reasons are clear. If female students are dramatically under-represented in certain subject fields at university, and this has long been the case, then they are hardly likely to feature significantly in the applicant pool for jobs in that field. This is particularly evident in university appointments which may require a higher degree because postgraduate enrolment is another point at which women are filtered out. The problem emerges as one of horizontal clustering and vertical attrition.

In 1983 women outnumbered men in doctoral enrolments in Fine Arts only (see Table 2). With increasing emphasis on high qualifications in academic appointments it is clear that women are unlikely to fare as well as men. In some fields women will do especially badly. Bachelor enrolments for 1982 indicate that they predominate only in Humanities, Fine Arts, Social and Behavioural Sciences and Education. These had long been feminised courses and accepted as suitable for women, although it is chastening to note that these are fields with markedly contracted employment opportunities. Female students are

much less likely to be found in faculties and departments with a science base and orientation.

Beswick et al., 1983:120 point out that women's under-representation in mathematics and science at school is inevitably extended in tertiary institutions to subject fields and courses which are mathematics or science based. Women are deterred from mathematics for a number of reasons which appear to be anchored in the idea that it is a male domain and one for which female students have less natural aptitude. Research, however, does not support the view that girls participate less in mathematics courses because of some biological bent. Rather the explanation lies in socio-cultural factors (see Barnes, 1983). It is likely for instance, that girls will be discouraged by parents, teachers and their own peer group and may then themselves subscribe to the view that mathematics is neither a useful nor appropriate subject for women, and is in effect 'too hard' (see Foster, 1984:75). While the discriminatory assumptions supporting this approach and ensuring its self-fulfilment are laid bare in critical evaluation, the effects in association with discriminatory employment practices, have been a form of sexual closure of high-level scientific and technical occupations and positions. This state of affairs is paralleled in physical science subjects.

TABLE 2

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ENROLLED FOR A DOCTORATE (Ph.D. and other doctorates) IN 1982

Faculty	Women (N=1800 per cent)
Humanities	45.8
Fine arts	75
Social and behavioural sciences	40.3
Law	25
Education	34.7
Economics, commerce, government	16.7
Medicine	26.6
Dentistry	-
Natural sciences	13.5
Engineering, technology	5.1
Architecture, building	10
Agriculture, forestry	16.7
Veterinary science	22.2

(Source: ABS University Statistics, 1982.)

The alleged natural inability of women to cope with certain categories of knowledge and intellectual processes is manifestly a central feature of the belief that some types of work are suitable for women and some are not. There is, however, another intimately

connected aspect. It is premised on an understanding that some employment is essentially masculine in character. In some instances this derives from the intellectual content of the work - the knowledge which is a necessary component in performing certain tasks, for example, the mathematics in engineering or the technology in plumbing. It is a claim rationalised, with some circularity, with reference to the traditional wisdom that education and occupational training which calls on lineal thinking, the development of mechanical understanding and problem-solving skills should be seen principally as a male domain. In other cases the masculine character of the work derives from the circumstances in which it is performed. If it is in rugged or taxing physical conditions or if it involves using big machinery it is deemed to be work for men (see, for example, Thornton 1983, Williams 1981). It is also, although perhaps less obviously, the case in white-collar jobs when the work is accepted as conventionally masculine in character because it involves important decision making and power play. Such work may also bear a masculine stamp because it spills over into times which proclaim freedom from domestic responsibilities.

> For some academic men - and this point is by no means restricted to them - the issue of long hours, night time teaching, weekend work, and the number of nights on which meetings are held is not viewed in the same light as it is viewed by the women who are tied to domestic responsibilities. The witching hour, for some men, is a time to be avoided.
>
> (Burton, 1984)

That the sex segregation of occupations is the result of discriminatory assumptions and values and is fertile ground for other, including very material, forms of discrimination has been extensively and thoroughly documented (see *inter alia* Amsden, 1980; Connell et al., 1982; Hargreaves, 1982; Power, 1975). It may have its genesis outside the university in the attitudes and practices of the broader society but institutions of tertiary education nonetheless mirror and even reinforce that structural block. While universities alone cannot overturn tradition, and in the light of previous arguments perhaps should not seek to, they are in a position to intervene at one level in the recreation of disadvantage. At the very least such intervention must have profound consequences for expanding and improving the opportunities for women in academe.

Forward Moves

I cannot imagine that there is much a university can do directly to transfigure the male face of occupations based on tertiary education and training but practised beyond those confines. Nor can it directly and radically transform an educational and social system which steers girls and boys in different directions at school. It can, however, take certain steps to encourage scholastically eligible female students, to hitherto heavily male-dominated faculties and departments. It can also support those who, on the basis of gender, have been educationally disadvantaged in some courses, and, while meeting formal requirements, are nonetheless anxious and insecure about their ability. There is an evident need to pass on more

information about university courses to potential female students before they enrol, alerting them to the range of opportunities in tertiary study and in doing so pulling down any ill-founded attitudinal screens which filter women out of particular fields. Written material in the form of brochures and booklets, workshops and summer schools as well as introductory and bridging courses are some of the ways to pass on that information and a number of tertiary educational institutions have adopted such measures. I am aware, for example, that at the University of Sydney, The Careers and Appointments Service and academic departments themselves have made efforts in these directions. But these endeavours should be more widely encouraged and perhaps co-ordinated on a broader scale not only within but between institutions.

There is also the consideration that, even when enrolled in traditionally male courses, women may either be actually at a disadvantage in some subjects as a consequence of their earlier gender-biased education, or they may perceive themselves to be disadvantaged thereby generating insecurity and laying the ground for underachievement. Some system of support and assistance early in their university candidature would help make up the educational deficits and relieve the debilitating emotional stress. It is not a question of encouraging students to take courses if they have no demonstrated potential and consequently having to establish some form of broad-ranging and parallel support system for them on a long-term basis. It is a matter of rectifying educational disadvantage among students, who for reasons other than individual incapacity, have participated minimally in certain fields of study. By such educational intervention, universities would expand the scholarly and, as a follow-on, other occupational chances of women (see Note 1).

Like most other steps I can think of which are likely to stimulate social change which is not merely cosmetic in operation and tokenistic in outcome, educational intervention of this order will not result in immediate and visible structural changes. Certainly it should improve the participation of women in particular courses and reduce their discontinuation and failure rates but, if we are looking at scholarly careers, it will, and at the very least, take the time necessary to complete bachelor degrees and probably postgraduate degrees and then to allow for some years in academic employment before we could anticipate seeing women in senior positions in traditionally male oriented and male-dominated fields. I do not mean one or two women but a significant female representation reflecting better their presence in the society at large. The question is frequently posed: Why the rush, change is occurring anyhow? - Let it continue naturally. It is true that in the last decade or so the doors have been creaking ajar. This is good but it has not been a spontaneous phenomenon. The changes which have occurred have been a response to social and political pressure. Those changes, like the circumstances on which they work, are cultural, not natural processes and in the pursuit of social justice they should be not merely maintained but accelerated. Further, in the prevailing circumstances there are reasons prompting an intensification of efforts.

During the period spanning the 1960s and 1970s there was considerable growth in the tertiary education sector. At that time many of those people currently occupying senior positions entered employment. Over and Lancaster (1984) point out that, following the sex ratio of postgraduate education, many more men than women were recruited as academics. But other factors must also be taken into account, that is, in those years in the 1960s and 1970s, 'men enjoyed more rapid career advancement within the Australian university system than women did'. This, inevitably, emphasised the male domination of academe, a domination Over and Lancaster argue is likely to prevail into the 1990s.

> The end to growth within the Australian university system will probably mean that the present under-representation of women in senior academic posts will persist throughout the 1980s, if not over a longer period. The opportunities for career advancement are much greater in an expanding than in a contracting university system. The men who entered Australian universities in large numbers in the 1960s and enjoyed rapid advancement are still relatively young. Many senior posts are held by men who are a number of years from retirement.
>
> (Over and Lancaster, 1984)

Given the length of time required for individuals to acquire qualifications and experience and a down-to-earth, if somewhat depressing, evaluation of the present and future state of academic employment, then universities surely have a clear mandate, stamped with a sense of urgency, to take steps towards improving opportunities for women:

- to be well represented in those fields conventionally dominated by men
- to achieve seniority in employment in *all* subject fields at university.

Such an enterprise, educational in character and domestic in focus, lies within the traditional purview of universities. That the benefits would extend to the broader society is an unintended but happy consequence. It is, however, more than a matter of perceptions of responsibility, it is fundamentally a question of will.

Note 1

Early in 1984 a Mathematics Learning Centre was established at The University of Sydney. In brief, without prejudicing academic standards, its aims are:

- to supplement the formal teaching process with an approach aimed at individual needs and with an emphasis on self-help.

. to help students overcome anxiety about mathematics by providing a non-threatening but effective way to develop competence and confidence.

This is one example of measures which can be adopted across a range of academic fields to attract women to, and/or initially support them in general or specialist tertiary education previously perceived as inappropriate for them and often unwelcoming.

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THE POLITICS OF MERIT AND THE EXERCISE OF POWER: ISSUES IN THE PROMOTION OF ACADEMIC WOMEN TO POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE

Clare Burton

Introduction

Four main themes will be touched on in this paper: the importance of committee experience, the exercise of authority of women, women's place in the process of administration, and the politics of merit.

Committees

Experience on committees is implicitly or explicitly part of the set of criteria for promotion. One cannot demonstrate commitment to the institution or to one's colleagues, without being involved in committee deliberations and neither can one participate effectively in course development, in influencing policy decisions, in the taking on of administrative duties and other activities without this type of involvement, this type of *working* with other people on issues of importance to the institution.

I commend to you Kathryn Cole's 1981 paper, *Equality of Opportunity for Women in Educational Committees*. She raises the issue of interest representation on committees, which draws attention to the question of the relationship between representaion of minority groups and the responsiveness of those representatives to their constituencies. This question cannot be dealt with in a vacuum. While it is true that evidence one way or another is conflicting on this issue, (for an overview of different arguments, see Thompson 1976) there seems no doubt that the existence of strong social movements advocating the rights of particular groups and monitoring the progress of organisations will have an effect on the representation-responsiveness relationship. Hence the importance of women's involvement in their unions and within women's campus groups. The broader question, as to whether there are more general interests which might be represented by specific groups, is one I merely note as an important question but one which I cannot go into here.

But whether appointed or elected, people who get on important committees are, for the most part, there for their resources. Resources, apart from those of expertise, experience and practical organisational knowledge, include contacts with other people who might lend *their* resources or bring to bear their influence on relevant parties. Women have not, on the whole, accumulated power and influence, or resources that are valued, and neither do they have the same involvement in networks of influential people. Now, these comments of mine clearly do not apply to all women over all issues. But they apply strikingly to the issues related to implementing equal employment opportunities (EEO) and to suggestions for changes in course content in the disciplines where social and political changes, of which EEO is a symptom, might be reflected in course revisions.

But there are a range of similar issues over which some women's contributions will not be utilised nor appreciated, including budgetary decisions, the allocation of discretionary funds, decisions about time tabling.

The fact that many critical decisions are made by committee members in the first place presents a problem in the analysis of power structures. The networks overtly used in committee deliberations can be covertly used to exclude potential members and therefore certain ideas.

Women in Positions of Authority

But we have to be aware of the next level of difficulty, to which Sha Reilly draws attention. That is, as women are increasingly elected or appointed to positions which in the past carried with them a certain amount of power and influence, these positions are becoming less powerful and more routine in terms of the decisions that are able to be carried out. Elected Department Head positions are the ones I am thinking of in particular. We have to take into account that positions at departmental level may no longer be rungs on a promotional ladder, as more senior positions are not being vacated or opened up. This may be why men are losing interest, but poses dilemmas for women who are under considerable pressure to take these positions on, as a demonstration of their willingness to assume new responsibilities under EEO initiatives. But in general terms, the centre of power appears to move as women enter the arena of influence and decision making.

Now, where women are at times bewildered is when trying to explain these apparently devious processes. Why does it happen this way? I believe we are dealing with conscious and unconscious motivational and perceptual processes, some of which relate to cultural patterns emphasising the close association of women with parenting and domestic concerns. Despite good intentions to the contrary, and despite the fact that women are increasingly involving themselves in the paid workforce, they are perceived, as Edna Ryan puts it, as 'invaders in the work place' (1983:7), a place that many men regard comfortably as their home. Some men feel that their activities become devalued in the eyes of others (as well as in their own eyes) if women ably share in the tasks that they carry out. This problem is clearly exacerbated when women hold positions of authority over men, while our cultural and social traditions emphasise the connection of men with authority and of women with dependence and subservience. Caplow, among others, has identified the association of men with authority as a strong cultural theme in our society affecting the organisation of work and points to the methodological problems involved in demonstrating the sources of the patterning. He suggests that -

> we are forced to adopt a technique of the social anthropologists, which is to assert the universality of a cultural theme on the basis of personal observation, introspection, and what might be called circumstantial evidence in the literature.
>
> (1954:238)

One anecdotal piece is particularly interesting. In a survey conducted in the United States of America, a male manager said, 'As for an efficient woman manager, this is cultural blasphemy' (Bowman et al., 1965:169).

We have to take into account, of course, women's participation in these processes. I find the notion of 'praxis traps' useful here, 'where people do things for good reasons and skilfully, in situations that turn out to make their original purpose impossible to achieve' (Connell, 1983:156). Cultural values do not necessarily get translated into coherent and explicit statements of intent by individuals making choices and decisions. Yet they affect in powerful ways the shaping of people's occupational planning and subsequent work lives. We have to enquire as to whether the lack of women in positions of authority is partly related to women's accommodative strategies in the labour market. That is if notions of femininity, womanhood and good motherhood are not to be disturbed, women will organise their occupational choices and, once on the job, their preferences for certain kinds of experiences around those activities which do not challenge these dominant views. At the same time, if they are career oriented, they may not have understood that these strategies have taken them in directions which do not lead to the sorts of opportunities they anticipated. This directs our attention to the definition and construction of the jobs themselves: if positions of authority are defined either in instrumental, impersonal and rational or in highly political terms rather than in supportive, facilitative, interpersonal and collaborative terms, women are less likely to aspire towards them. This type of definition of the work of people in authority is one good way of excluding women from it. While men on the whole perform it, the issue of whether these are the most appropriate descriptions of what positions of authority entail remains clouded. The 'public' presentation of this work is all that women have access to. The 'private' understandings of the nature of the work are not readily available to women.

Let me say that it is not only a double bind for women in relation to the constraints of their feminine self image. Males face the same dilemma in relation to their masculinity. When men aspire to positions of authority they have had to place value on the repression of emotion; they have learnt to develop an impersonal, cool approach to the job. To be subjected to female authority appears to make that process a waste of time. As Loring and Wells put it, 'if he accepts the prescribed unemotional manager's role, he can't accept women as managers' (1972:97) and neither is he going to welcome a change in the definition of the job which would erode his investment and his sense of the appropriateness of his masculine qualities to perform it.

Women and Administrative Positions

We must address the question as to why suitably qualified, senior women have not been as forthcoming as we might expect in taking up opportunities to run departments, to preside over important committees and to seek promotion to higher administrative positions. We constantly hear that women are not presenting themselves for these positions as often as their male counterparts. Whenever I am told that women are not putting themselves forward for promotion, and this

is usually said as if this fact demonstrates their lack of willingness to take on extra responsibilities or career commitments, or that it is something to do with womanhood, I ask, what are the conditions prevailing in your organisation to make this so? We have partly answered this question already, but there is more to say.

First, it is a fact that many of these positions involve long hours and I know that at CAEs with a high proportion of night time teaching, they involve strange hours if one is to keep in touch with all that is going on, including contact with part-time staff. As with many other jobs, important or influential work has been carried out, in the main, by men with domestic support at home so that working long hours has not posed real dilemmas. What I am suggesting is that the way in which work is organised might have to change if women are to be attracted. I believe that could well be a very efficient change. I have heard from women recently appointed to top jobs in the bureaucracy that one of the first steps they took was to eliminate the time-wasting elements built into the work by other bureaucrats who had not the same incentive to eliminate them. (Is this their partial discovery of 'private understandings' perhaps?) Second, and related to the first point, is the belief of many women that the style of administrative practice is a bit on the ugly side, that it is a highly political and backstabbing process with elements of trickery and malevolence about it. Many women do not want to be a part of this cut-throat, competitive environment where decision making has more to do with point scoring and protection of existing status differences than with reasonable policy making. Well, you all recognise the picture and we all squirm in front of *Yes Minister* because it is often too true to be funny, but this is a real reason for some women's resistance to taking on such jobs - not wanting to waste time being feted, to be involved in the sessions which are to do with alliance building more than they are with substantive issues, and so on. This is where I am noting local variation, rather than social-structural constraint. This mode of administrative behaviour is neither universal nor necessary in my view. Am I suggesting that women are inclined to be more instrumental, more rational, in their orientation to work? Well, in some ways perhaps I am, in terms of the value they put on their time and their need to organise it so carefully, but of course I am not implying there is a more rational way. There is a *different* way. Many women, through their experiences, show a preference and a capacity for supportive, mediating and negotiating styles sadly lacking in the style of many men in positions of authority.

What conditions allow for different styles to be sought after and encouraged to develop? The first condition would be that democratic views prevail, such that a hierarchy of power and privilege does not exist to mask the fact that some interests are given greater weight than others. The second condition follows from this, in that 'getting the numbers' would be based on people's equal capacity to exchange resources, to influence each other, to bargain and to negotiate. A third condition would appear to be that influential members feel that their competence derives from their ability to encourage the free expression of ideas and their capacity to allow for open negotiation between conflicting interests, without 'losing' becoming a personal attribute.

A recent experience which increasing numbers of women are sharing relates to the emergence of women's groups on campus. These themselves challenge conventional hierarchies. Apart from those who might be familiar with collectivities and collective modes of decision making in the women's movement, more women are discovering the value of sharing experiences, particularly across the general-academic staff division (where we realise that apparently different circumstances share important, similar characteristics) and learning the value of compromise and negotiation so that a minimum negative impact is felt by any one category of people. This recalls an interesting piece of research carried out in the 1960s which contrasted women's and men's strategy development in mixed sex groups -

> In the games set up, males were found to play competitively, with strong motivation to win, ... they strive to arrive at an outcome that will enhance their interests ... whereas females were more concerned with social and ethical considerations, oriented towards arriving at an outcome in the game maximally satisfactory (or fair) to all ... participants.
>
> (Bond and Vinacke, 1961:61,72)

We have heard these types of comparisons before; it is the interpretation that concerns me[1], as well as the practical issue of how we are going to tackle the consequences of the differences, in terms of access to the opportunity to exert influence. I regard the difference as based on social structural position in society, which determines how much power men and women have. More important than the *difference* in socialisation between girls and boys is the *experience* of the difference. The different socialisation processes are believed to equip women inadequately relatively to men, for the rigours of corporate life. I would maintain, though, that the exclusion from activities and behaviours that are later rewarded within the work place, the relative powerlessness *experienced* by girls and women, equip them in ways yet to be acknowledged at the work place. There is not a biological predisposition for women to be more sensitive to the needs of others. This is not a statement about women as women, but a statement about any category of people who have experienced subordinate status and the frustration of getting their concerns on any public agenda. They learn the vital role that discussion, support, consultation and genuine hearings play.

Many women are reluctant to take on a position which is so tightly ordered in hierarchical relationships that it would be a job in itself to change the system and the processes in order to make the administrative task as satisfying as some believe it could be, particularly through diluting the effects of hierarchy and generating more democratic processes. Besides, many women are pressed for time, with their child care and domestic responsibilities. If they were not, they would be in a better position to learn from and take advantage of, in a more leisurely way, the important informal sessions, the preconditions for good, responsive policy making.

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1. See Kanter (1976) for an interpretation of these results which stresses organisational structures of power and opportunity rather than gender relations. Without detracting from the importance of the former, I wish to draw attention to the latter.

The Politics of Merit

If we want to get to the source of some of the problems EEO plans are trying to overcome, we have to look very closely at prevailing definitions of skill, merit, competence and experience relevant to certain positions. It could be argued that -

> universalistic criteria (of merit) should be re-examined because meritocratic criteria are intrinsically interconnected with the social structure of privilege and its maintenance.
>
> (Benokraitis and Feagin, 1978:181)

We have to come to terms with the politics of skill and the vested interests of weighting some activities more heavily than others. There are many women who are aware, for instance, that their participation in feminist academic activity - whether it be the development of course content, conference papers, publications, or research - is not regarded as legitimate scholarly activity so that the time and energy involved is discounted. This might well emerge as a crucial concern under the EEO legislation. Women will argue that these judgments on their scholarship constitute forms of indirect discrimination under the existing anti-discrimination legislation. But even outside of that, there are questions to be asked about the relative weighting of different kinds of academic activity, such as teaching and research, participation in national as against international forums, the value attached to different types of publications, for promotions and appointments. Again, in arguing that opportunities for various activities are not equally available to everyone and in arguing that the high value attached to some has a dubious connection to merit, we are confronting people's perceptual maps and hoping to disturb them. Governed as they are to a large extent, by experiences and associated interests, the solution must be sought in changing people's experiences, through changing organisational practices, incentives and rewards. I believe this is a necessary pre-condition for changing the meaning of merit and of the value attached to different competencies. This of necessity requires changing structures, as clearly the power to define what is prized has been unevenly distributed within academic and other institutions.

Relevant to the issue of the politics of skill is the question of transmission processes: how are relevant occupational and organisational experiences passed on? It is probable that highly informal situations, on and off the job, are the most imporant training contexts (see, for example, Smith, 1976). We need to go back to the idea of homosociability developed by Lipman-Blumen (1976) and referred to in my paper last year (Burton, 1983), the idea that senior academic men will feel more comfortable imparting such knowledge to junior male colleagues, in a host of informal ways, such as taking them under their wing and introducing them to other people, than they would with female academic staff. I have heard new female academic staff complain of their relative invisibility in processes such as these. This ties in with the observation I and others have made of the different treatment and encouragement lower-graded male clerical staff receive from supervisors in comparison with their female counterparts. Again, perceptual maps are important, rather than conscious intent to discriminate. The male-as-breadwinner constellation of ideas affects

people's perceptions, so that the male is seen as more stuck than the female, more disadvantaged by lack of career structures than the female and is therefore given more consideration when opportunities arise. Very different processes of work allocation occur in apparently identical jobs.

Now, I am not suggesting that the whole problem resides in perceptual processes. I have already indicated how over time relationships have developed in ways that give some more power to define situations and to interpret the meaning of events. Interests adhere to the practical outcomes and so the fact of very active, conscious resistance to changing them must be recognised. And those who resist are likely to have the power to do so. I feel we can trace, through some of the recent discussions about merit, about the need for autonomy of academic institutions, about the importance of the academic community in assessing the worth of peers, the development of 'officializing strategies': 'their object being to transmute 'egoistic', private, particular interests into disinterested, collective, publicly avowable, legitimate interests' (Bourdieu 1977, 40). This is what women are sometimes accused of doing. But this belief represents an ill-informed view of the relative power of men and women to define the contours of the employment situation. This is particularly apparent in the very definition of what consitutes industrial issues, but I can only note that point here. Elshtain argues in her book, *Public Man, Private Woman* that:

> Because women have, throughout much of Western history, been a silenced population in the arena of public speech, their views ... have either been taken for granted or assigned a lesser order of significance and honor compared to the public, political activities of males. ... politics is in part *an elaborate defence* (my italics) against the tug of the private, against the lure of the familial, against evocations of female power.
>
> (1981:15-16)

I am attempting to integrate a set of related ideas, including Cleverley's (1971) suggestion that some organisational activity can be explained by men's fear of 'contagious effeminacy'. We need to understand why, when women present their views, they are regarded not only of lesser significance as Elshtain suggests, but as expressions of special interests, not even interests shared by all women, let alone by people more generally. Furthermore, women appear to be clamouring, quite incompetently, for changes in practices that are from the point of view of many men impossible, inconceivable and impractical. These demands for change are in themselves the clearest possible evidence for the belief that women are indeed invaders at the work place. They seem unable to comprehend what work places are all about particularly when they want to introduce into them arrangements more properly confined to the domestic sphere. The work place has been constructed by males as separate from the domestic domain, separate and entailing harder and more important work. Many men resist in undervalued and unpaid work at the expense of productive toil (in relation to their own careers). Some men fear the reorganisation of 'public' activities to incorporate 'private' concerns, as this might lead to new values entering the work place, values which elevate in importance activities

they have regarded in the past as distracting, a waste of time, effeminate, or, if Elshtain and Cleverley are correct, potentially damaging to the scaffolding on which their masculinity is based.

None of this is to imply that all men respond to women's claims for equitable treatment in this defensive way. There is no doubt at all that sympathetic men are listening and acting more sensitively as a result of their increasing understanding of what is at stake. And these men are indispensable to the success of EEO programs. Many men recognise, in much of what women have to say, that they have experienced similar obstacles as a result of their own political views or research priorities. Our staff association policies are a demonstration of widespread support for many initiatives proposed under EEO plans. Nevertheless, it is important to develop adequate understanding of resistance when it does occur, so that through our analysis of its sources, our strategies for dealing with it will have some chance of success.

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ATTITUDINAL BARRIERS TO THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT

Bronwyn Davies

Introduction

In this paper I will discuss attitudinal barriers to the participation of women in higher educational management and their relation to the gender-based division of labour in our society.

The gender-based division of labour as we know it is the result of an elaborate set of myths and related stereotypes whose function is to maintain women in 'their place'. They do this not only by sustaining a set of 'truths' about the natures of women and of men and about the way the various elements of our society function, but also about what constitutes truth or knowledge and about the relation between men and knowledge, and women and knowledge. These myths and stereotypes are structured and maintained in spite of multiple evidences of their invalidity. They are reinforced by men in positions of power, in order to sustain those positions of power, and in order to sustain the supportive network of care provided for them by women in their positions as wives, secretaries, tutors and research assistants.

Definition of Terms : 'higher educational management'

For the purposes of this paper I will be referring to the university rather than the CAE sector, though I image that much of what I have to say will have application to CAEs.

Universities do not have a single hierarchical structure. Rather they have a set of sub-structures, each internally organised in an hierarchical way. These sub-structures are further arranged in a complex hierarchy in relation to each other, and the lines of power between them are not always clear. The vice-chancellors, for example are in the top position of power, but can be over-ruled by their Councils, or their Academic Boards (or the equivalent). They can, of course, use this power of the Councils and Academic Boards to great advantage when it suits them, by asserting that not they, but the Council or the Board is responsible for the decisions being made (thus using them, for example, as scapegoats for non-action on issues such as affirmative action).

The sub-structure most familiar to academics, and to secretaries, is the academic department. Within departments the chair of the department has administrative responsibilities. Where the chair of the department is also the professor, the responsibility is both administrative *and* academic. The former includes personnel management and financial management. The latter (which is of particular importance to academics) involves the management of knowledge. Management of knowledge includes recognition, valuing and encouragement of 'excellence' in research and in teaching.

Both forms of management, administrative and academic, involve a process of decision making which is inevitably based on a set of values. As Wilenski says of decision making in the public service:

> Inevitably the public servant's background, his prejudices, his unrecognised assumptions and his view of the world and what is important, will influence not only his recommendations but also his selection of the facts that he considers relevant, his selection of options and his presentation of the consequences of different courses of action. Nor can there be a 'perfect' public servant who can free himself of his personal biases in order to deal with policy questions, for such questions are inherently questions of value. They require answers based on judgements and on values and not solely on facts.
> (1978:30)

Any organisation which has been dominated by males, as have universities and CAEs, will inevitably have incorporated into their structures, their processes, their decision making, values and assumptions which are inherently male.

Officially, the direction of power in departments runs from the chair/professor at the top, to the secretary and to tutors at the bottom. In fact secretaries can have a great deal of administrative power, though this is not acknowledged in any official way. I will return to this point.

Other management positions in universities include registrars, staff officers, personnel officers, bursars (these are administrative) and pro-vice chancellors and deans (these are both administrative and academic).

Definition of Terms : 'attitudinal barriers'

In each of these sub-structures there are ways of thinking that disadvantage women. These include assumptions about the nature of people, about the social world in general and about modes of organisation and decision making. These assumptions are generally made by both men and women, as they are an integral element of our shared taken-for-granted world.

That they are also held by women is not an argument for their not being detrimental to women.

The movement of women into positions of management involves a challenge to these taken-for-granted assumptions both for the women themselves in positions of management and to those around them. It is of particular importance, then, that these assumptions be located and named, so that strategies for dealing with resistance to change can be developed.

Attitudinal barriers, then, are barriers to the progression of women into management, and are the result of an understanding about the way the world is (and therefore, the way the world *ought* to be, the presumed 'natural order' being seen as the moral order).

The work of Garfinkel (1967) involves an examination of this elision between 'is' and 'ought'. He explores the resistance members of society display towards other than 'normal' events. That resistance stems from fear of the disruption of that which is, is known, and is assumed, therefore, to be morally correct.

Universities as we know them are run by *men*. To engineer a shift in which the 'normal university' is run by *people* (that is, men and women) requires a shift in consciousness to which there will inevitably be resistance.

Attitudes to Women in Management

Women who move into management (administrative and/or academic) can be perceived as a threat to the individual men around them. Worse, they can be seen as a threat to the very fabric of our society. Men, on their side, can deal with these threats by downgrading the management position the woman holds (Burton, 1984). Women, on their side, often engage in a great deal of interactive work to reassure and to sustain the individuals with whom they interact about those individuals' competencies. They may also feel it necessary to engage in work to demonstrate their belief in the validity of the social structures, such as marriage and family, which appear to be being threatened by their movement into positions of power at the institutional level. They do this work of reassurance and maintenance of the status quo often at the cost of the support of the female/feminist network that might have sustained them through the inevitable problems experienced by women when they take on management roles.

Not only must women engage in this work of reassurance if they wish not to be perceived as a threat, but they must operate both in the virtual absence of a supportive network which validates them in their unfamiliar role as well as the virtual absence of female models for that role. Further, they must counter their own doubts about themselves in a managerial role. These doubts arise from their lack of detailed information about management (resulting from their marginal, outsider status in the world of men and management), from the attitudes of others toward them as they step outside their expected roles and from the apparent contradictions between being a manager (as currently defined) and being a woman (as currently defined), (cf. Shreiber, 1979)

Current definitions of managers can readily be found which use stereotyped models of women to define what management is *not*. Reid cites one such definition:

> The good manager is aggressive, competitive, firm and just. He is not feminine, he is not soft and yielding in the womanly sense. The very expression of emotion is widely viewed as a feminine weakness that would interfere with effective business processes.
>
> (1982:54)

The idea here is that emotions such as those that *women* have are indications of a weakness incompatible with management, with control, with order. Implicit in this definition of the good manager is the idea that women represent the antithesis of order. This attitude to women, according to Merchant, has been a bi-product of the Scientific Revolution. She says that as we have moved from an 'organic' concept of the world to a mechanical one, there has been a parallel change in the attitude to women:

> Central to the organic theory was the identification of nature, especially the earth, with a nurturing mother: a kindly beneficent female who provided for the needs of mankind in an ordered, planned universe. But another opposing image of nature as female was also prevalent: wild and uncontrollable nature that could render violence storms, droughts, and general chaos. Both were identified with the female sex and were projections of human perceptions onto the external world. The metaphor of the earth as a nurturing mother was gradually to vanish as a dominant image as the Scientific Revolution proceeded to mechanize and to rationalize the world view. The second image, nature as disorder, called forth an important modern idea, that of power over nature. Two new ideas, those of mechanism and of the domination and mastery of nature, became core concepts of the modern world. An organically oriented mentality in which female principles played an important role was undermined and replaced by a mechanically oriented mentality that either eliminated or used female principles in an exploitative manner. As Western culture became increasingly mechanized in the 1600s, the female earth and virgin earth spirit were subdued by the machine.
>
> (1980:2)

The concept of maleness as competitive and dominant, is in keeping with the movement towards the control or mastery of nature, and of modern science as we know it. Also in keeping with this movement is the dominant, competitive model of management that we find in the hierarchical structures of universities and CAEs. And as Hunt points out, in hierarchical structures '(m)ale dominance must be maintained at all costs because the person who dominates cannot conceive of any alternative but to be dominated in turn' (1975:108). Hierarchies are, in this sense self perpetuating.

The current gender-based division of labour, which will be discussed in detail in the next section, operates in such a way that the skills women have that *are* relevant to management are most often used either in private to support, sustain and advise men in their public production of management behaviour, or in unacknowledged management, such as that which many secretaries engage in. Women (in their supportive roles as wives, tutors, secretaries and research assistants) have generally learned to value the nurturing and sustaining elements of their roles, and are often aware of the personal power they have in these situations.

According to Van Wagner and Swanson:

> ...male power styles are much easier to describe than the power styles of females... Because men are action oriented, they gain more experience actively inspecting their environment. This translates into a power style which concentrates on manipulating, analyzing and restructuring the world around them.
>
> Women, in contrast, have a contextual power style. They are interested in more complex, open, and less defined aspects of reality. They are concerned with the subtleties of interaction, paying attention to the whole picture that is being presented rather than concentrating solely on the task at hand. Women, then, can be described as generalists. They have developed a contextual power style because of the many types of demands that are placed on them at the same time. Women have become experts at managing and handling a series of demands rather than concentrating or abstracting one particular demand from the environment as males do. Their power style focuses on their having more internal resources to share as well as their desire to build interdependent relationships with others. In comparison to the 'male' task oriented power style, the female power style is also described as being more self and people oriented.
>
> (1979:69)

Women's attitudes to management are complicated by a variety of factors including both the failure to recognise the management behaviour in which they do unofficially engage and a lack of comprehension or recognition of their particular management style. Other factors include the rejection of management as a viable option for them because they believe that management as they see men engaging in it, is less than human, and incompatible with their values (cf. Gilligan, 1983). Alternatively, they may simply see management as a male province because they have not challenged male models of management. Other models of management which incorporate 'female' values may not be envisaged and even where they are, it is difficult to break into a world defined in hierarchical, male terms, as tertiary institutions currently are.

The movement of women into management is fraught with difficulties, with anomalies and with contradictions, which I hope to go part way to unravelling in this paper.

The Gender-Based Division of Labour

The process of industralisation which has shaped the structure to today's workforce has been associated with an increasing *division of labour* into more and more specific and separate tasks. This process has generated a large quantity of work that is dull, routine and boring. The worker feels little relationship to the work being produced, has little power in the workplace, and ultimately feels little self worth. This process, which is linked to the division of

labour, is called *alienation*. Feminist theory has isolated other important dimensions of the division of labour, based on gender. The dominant division is between workplace (male) and home (female), and within the workplace, a division between high status (male) and low status (female) jobs. These divisions have the function of compensating for the alienation implicit in much work. Feminist theory has identified and named gender-based division of labour as *patriarchal*, that is, it involves the domination of most men by some men and the domination of all women by all men.

The dominant work roles allocated to some men under patriarchy serve to confirm their masculinity through the experience of power and control in the public world of work. Those men who are controlled, however, use their families as an arena in which they can exert control and thus have a piece of the world in which their masculinity is confirmed and alienation kept at bay. Berger and Kellner, in *Marriage and the construction of reality : an essay in the micro-sociology of knowledge*, describe the way in which the man who finds himself alienated in the public world can thus use his family:

> ... The point, however, is that the individual in this situation, no matter whether he is happy or not, will turn elsewhere for the experiences of self-realization that do have importance for him. The private sphere ... is mainly where he will turn. It is here that the individual will seek power, intelligibility and, quite literally, a name - the apparent power to fashion a world, however Lilliputian, that will reflect his own being: a world that, seemingly having been shaped by himself and thus unlike those other worlds that insist on shaping him, is translucently intelligible to him (or so he thinks); a world in which, consequently, he is *somebody* - perhaps even, within its charmed circle, a lord and master.
>
> (1971:20)

If men in management are *less* likely to have wives in the paid work-force than are other men as Hunt (1975) suggests, then lack of alienation at work does not, apparently, release their wives from the task of repairing male esteem. Rather, it would seem managers demand greater support from their wives than do men in general. Perhaps a large part of this support is actually in the shape of (probably unacknowledged) work on the wife's part in supporting and developing the husband's management skills.

In contrast to the masculinity/control/public workplace nexus for men, the pattern for women under patriarchy is that feminity is associated with lack of power, with a willingness to nurture others, with privacy and with the family. Women's willingness to cope with powerlessness is a necessary ingredient of patriarchy.

Powerlessness of men in the workplace is reduced by placing women in more menial positions - clerks, for instance may do boring routine work but are more highly paid and in a position to instruct and demand work of typists, who may be just as skilled and as highly trained themselves. Blauner, in *Alienation and Freedom*, a book about the

alienation and freedom of men, says of women, according to Oakley, that:

> ... although women have the most objectively alienated jobs, they don't mind, because they're wives or mothers; that a valuable aspect of women's low status work is that it allows men to feel less alienated because they can have the better jobs, and that unpleasant work conditions don't make women workers feel unpleasant because 'successful work is not part of the traditional female role'.
>
> (Oakley, 1984:73)

It is interesting to note that women's excessive proneness to what doctors label 'depression' and treat as a personal illness (or failing) is not interpreted in terms of the experience of alienation, powerlessness and lack of control that they have over their lives. It is only from a feminist perspective that this connection can be seen.

Women, under patriarchy, are supposed to achieve their identity not through paid work but through their families. Their gender conditioning leads them to believe that that is in fact what they want and need. This is very useful, as Oakley says, in terms of the reproduction of the labour force:

> By virtue of their sensitivity to others, women are led to want to procreate. Thereafter, they have the logical, if personally destructive, desire to guard their fledglings, a necessity that extends to those non-fledglings, big strong adult men, the rulers of society. Patriarchs are babies in disguise: the governed are the protectors also; comfort and be damned.
>
> Women, therefore, are (defined as) non-human. Their existence is a pre-condition for all human existence. That is not a fact of biology but a fact about the cultural interpretation of biology....
>
> (1984:56)

And women have been mercilessly subjected to, and limited by, these cultural interpretations. They have, with some exceptions, taken for granted that the way the world is, is the way it should be. Many accept their subservient roles as housewives, as secretaries, as tutors and as research assistants, as an inevitable part of being female. What is culturally determined is often believed to be 'natural'. It is not easy to step outside one's culture, and the weight of past reality. The entrenched gender segregation at work leads present day women and men to assume it is inevitable (cf. Hargreaves 1982). Knowledge through experience is lacking, and the knowledge of what they might be is not available to most women. Indeed, as Virginia Woolf says:

> What is a woman? I assure you I do not know. I do not believe that you know. I do not believe that anybody can know until she has expressed herself in all the arts and professions open to human skill.
>
> *(Professions for Women)*

Women's lot under patriarchy is severely limited. How and why, we must ask is the belief in current gender roles sustained when they are so clearly alienating and destructive for women? Part of the work that feminist writers and academics have been engaging in, in the last decade or so, is the *naming* of their own experiences, such that they are recognisable from the perspective of women rather than from the imposed male/patriarchal perspective. Their analysis has revealed, among other things, the way in which gender roles are sustained by a variety of myths which have been generated largely by male research. Ann Oakley in *Housewife*, for example, describes how a variety of scientists have (mis)interpreted their data in order to develop theories in which the gender-based division of labour is seen, not only as inevitable, but as necessary for the survival of our society (that is patriarchy). Oakley says:

> The error is to assume that what happens (in the small group, the family, or anywhere else) does so from necessity. The essence of the gender-role pattern which sociologists claim is essential to the survival of society in its present form is the economic exploitation of women as unpaid labourers, child-rearers, housewives, and servants of men's physical, emotional and occupational needs. This being the actual situation, the sociological construct is not only mere theory, but also validating myth for a social order founded on the domestic oppression of women. The social system must survive; the family must survive; the family entails a division of labour by sex, a differentiation of roles: women must be housewives.
>
> Because the housewife role is a family role the myth of the division of labour by sex validates the institution of the family and makes its preservation mandatory. For the sociologist and for the anthropologist and ethologist, the myth of the division of labour by sex is essentially the myth of the family. These stereotyped figures which people the myth are always pair-bonded, like the family, and the young are *their* young, as in the family. The family, like the division of labour by sex, is universal and natural. Yet since it is actually not universal or natural, these claims simply reiterate the premises on which our own family system is based. They spring from the intellectual's internalization of his own cultural milieu: he hopes that what he believes in - the family and marriage - is more than a mere figment of his imagination. The family 'must' exist.
>
> (Oakley, 1974:184-5)

Similarly, psychologists such as Harlow and Bowlby can be seen to be (mis) interpreting their data to 'prove' the needs of children for the constant care of their mothers. They leap, for example, from the evidence that small monkeys need social and physical contact in order to be able to engage in adequate social behaviour, to concepts like 'maternal deprivation', without any apparent awareness that they are engaging in a sleight of hand. If science can be used to sustain the family and women's commitments to their role within it, then science has served its masculinist purpose.

The Management of Knowledge

In the foregoing section I have linked the gender-based division of labour to current models of management and shown the way in which women are essentially excluded from management as a result of current understandings of the nature of women and of the nature of management. 'Women' and 'management' are, by definition, mutually exclusive.

In this section I wish to look briefly at *academic* management and at the way in which academic merit, as it is currently constructed, is male academic merit. Many management positions in universities are achieved through a display of what is taken to be academic merit, which is in turn presumed to be a sound basis for the management of knowledge in others.

In post-Cartesian thought, knowledge which is valued in our society is knowledge which is scientifically verifiable, measurable, logical. Along with the scientific ascendency went the exclusion of women from institutions of learning, especially from the new secular universities. A large body of thought evolved which equated knowledge (ordered and verifiable) with men, while women were seen as natural, unordered, chaotic, emotional (Merchant, 1980).

That much current scientific knowledge is in fact ideological (masculinist) is generally not known, or if known, not acknowledged. The following extract from Coward analyses the problem of masculinist thinking in novels written by men. I use it here as an example; the existence of masculinist ideology can be demonstrated in any field of academic work (see for example, Smith, 1979; Dye, 1979; Shulenberg, 1979; Stimpson, 1979; Lanser and Beck, 1979; Sherif, 1979; Parsons, 1979; Elshtain, 1979; Rich, 1980; Spender and Sarah, 1980; Roberts, 1981; Schaef, 1981; McCormack, 1981):

> Novels which claim to reflect reality... rely on definite constructions and conventions of what is and is not appropriate to build up a particular sense of reality. Often it is when the novel claims to be most naturalistic that it contains very definite ideologies. A feminist approach to literature has exposed how supposedly 'truthful' and 'honest' accounts of 'reality' rely on distinct ideologies, in particular of what men and women should be like. For example, where critics have championed D.H. Lawrence for his honest accounts of sexuality, feminists have exposed these accounts as phallocratic and degrading representations of women. In other words there are no neutral conventions in novelistic writing: all accounts of reality are versions of reality. As feminists we have to be constantly alerted to what reality is being constructed and *how* representations are achieving this construction. In this respect, reading a novel can be a political activity, similar to activities which have always been important to feminist politics in general. This involves the contesting of natural attitudes, the challenging of agreed definitions - definitions which feminists have long recognised to be an integral aspect of the oppression of women in this society. (1984:55)

Women have thus been both controlled and misconstrued by masculinist knowledge. 'Why' a naive male by-stander might ask 'have women not spoken up, and put their own point of view? Surely if the men have been able to get away with all of this the women have only themselves to blame for their own silence?'

Lynne Soender deals with the issue of women's supposed silence in *Intruders on the rights of men*. She argues that publishers can be held accountable for 'promoting the myth of male supremacy through the devaluation of women and their words, and by promoting the myth of the neutrality of knowledge'. She points out that it is the publishers who 'have managed to project men's truths as universal truths' (1983:x). She says that since the 1960s -

> and at various times over the last two hundred years, women have challenged the universality of those truths and have pointed out that the knowledge encoded in the printed word and in our published heritage is frequently not true for women. Such knowledge does not incorporate female experiences from a female point of view and does not value them. Instead, our published heritage consists of records of men's experiences and perceptions. Even the information about women is provided by men and, as Virginia Woolf tells us, by all sorts of men including those 'who have no apparent qualifications save that they are not women'. Women's own records of their lives are simply not included. Indeed, as the long and rich tradition of women's writing is being recovered, women are realizing that their perceptions, values and understandings have consistently been excluded from or edited out of the printed words that make up our cultural heritage. They have been relegated to what constitutes an *unpublished heritage* of women's words and truths.
>
> (1983:x)

These publishers have not, of course, published in a vacuum. The academic managers have been the chief dictators of the market for their wares.

Women have until now been effectively silenced. They have been deprived of a body of knowledge which reflects or incorporates their experiences and their understandings. They have been educated in a form of knowing which requires them to put to one side their own knowing and to think in terms of masculinist constructions of themselves and of the world they live in. Needless to say they have been severely handicapped in their pursuit of 'truth' in academic institutions, since it has largely involved them in the process of learning about the world of men through men's eyes. Their difficulties can be compared to those experienced by a colonised people learning about history from the viewpoint of the colonisers.

'Women of merit', those who are recognised by men as meritorious, are generally those who have learned to think in masculinist terms, who have learned not to notice the bias against their own sex in their own and other's writing (or if they have noticed, have learned to think of it as correct), have learned to conduct research in the prevailing mode dictated by male researchers and have thus managed to pass, by dint of extraordinary effort, into the ranks of 'respectable women academics'. (They have, incidentally, miraculously avoided many booby traps along the way, traps that would allow them to be relegated and confined to the roles of wife, mother, whore or sex object, see Rendel, 1982 and Davies, 1983, 1984).

Women who do not think in masculinist terms, or who do not support male workers in *their* pursuits are difficult for men to see as women of merit. The questions they want to ask in their research seem alien and strange (even silly), the people they often wish to research (namely women and children) are not of great interest or importance, and the manner in which they wish to conduct their research is outside the bounds of anything which is generally recognised as 'proper' methodology (see Stanley and Wise, 1983). And most offensive of all, their research and their theorizing challenges existing 'knowledge' in an unprecedented way.

The research work that feminists are undertaking is of enormous importance in academe since it brings to bear a critical gaze on taken-for-granted masculinist ideologies. Yet because so few feminist women have been accepted or recognised, and because so few are in positions of power they are in an important sense, strangers in the academic world. Their work is unrecognised, even unrecognisable, from a masculinist perspective (cf. Schutz, 1971).

Herein lies the paradox. Until women are in positions of academic management they cannot encourage other women in their pursuit of non-masculinist research, and until women's non-masculinist research is recognised, they will not be deemed meritorious and so move into positions of power.

That there are some women in academic management (the famous two per cent), and that there are some men who recognise the problems of masculinist knowledge (see, for example, the work of Connel), is clearly not sufficient to effect change of any magnitude in the normal course of events. The appointment of women to positions of influence and power is a necessary *first* step in the development of equality for academic women.

Conclusion

There are two ways women can move into positions of management. One is by the tortuous method of masculinising themselves as far as is feasible, by engaging in a great deal of feminine support work to reduce the threat of their position to others and by learning in whatever way they can the competencies deemed necessary by men for their job. They require, in effect, all the skills that a stigmatised person employs to pass as normal among non-stigmatised people (see Goffman, 1963).

The second way requires a radical revision of current attitudes, structures and beliefs. It involves the acceptance of women on their own terms, the serious valuing of the skills and the knowledge that women have, the dissociation of masculinity with power, the recognition that current family and work structures and divisions are masculinist and destructive, the revision of current knowledge to include *all* people (substantive inclusions necessitating theoretical revisions).

This second way may be facilitated by affirmative action if it is carried out properly, with genuine understanding of the dimensions of the problem and with a genuine intention on the part of current management to achieve justice for all people.

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PROCESSES OF CHANGE

CHANGING FROM THE MIDDLE

Joanne Chickering

Introduction

It is a privilege to be here in Australia observing all that you are doing in your country to include women, the population that represents 52 per cent of the world's population, into institutions of 'higher' learning. Elizabeth Class, in a Phi Beta Kappa address in 1969, described the university as an institution designed by men for men. I believe men have mystified the process of the pursuit of truth by use of academic jargon and elitism. In the United States of America it was over five years after the Affirmative Action laws were passed before the courts dared confront the hallowed halls of the university. It was felt that university decisions, in what was assumed to be a meritocracy, were best left to those persons who understood the mission of higher education. Judith Valdeck (1981) quotes Judge Moore of the Second Circuit in *Faro v. New York University* as an example of this attitude.

> Of all fields which the federal courts should hesitate to invade and take over, education and faculty appointments at a university level are probably the least suited for federal court supervision. Dr Faro would remove any subjective judgments by her faculty colleagues in the decision making process by having the courts examine 'the university's recruitment, compensation, promotion and termination, and by analyzing the way these procedures are applied to the claimant personally'. Such a procedure, in effect, would require a faculty committee charged with recommending or withholding advancements or tenure appointments to subject itself to a court inquiry at the behest of unsuccessful and disgruntled candidates as to why the unsuccessful was not as well qualified as the successful.
>
> (Vladek, 1981:1-2)

As women in the USA have filled the classrooms of universities, they now represent 52 per cent of the undergraduate, 50 per cent of the masters and 34 per cent of the doctoral students in our country. I must note that when I begin to speak of post-secondary education in the States, I am speaking of 2800 accredited institutions. These post-secondary colleges and universities represent enormous diversity. I shall try some broad brush strokes to give you some demographics and statistics about the status of women in the process of change. I have titled my paper 'Changing from the Middle' for women are still invisible at the top.

To get back to the larger number of women students, these students are asking hard questions in trying to understand what higher education is all about. They are wondering what men mean by the 'pursuit of truth', when they know they have pursued it, when a faculty knows how to evaluate whether they, the students, have arrived at 'the truth'. In asking such questions, they are ripping a hole in

the fabric of the institution and often seeing some professors, as some woman commented, as the young child viewed the emperor and commented on his absence of clothes. Men feel threatened by this intrusion.

I believe women are more in pursuit of wisdom than knowledge. Wisdom, as you may remember, is a feminine entity. Wisdom is embodied in the name of Sophia. Philosophy translates philo - as love 'of Sophia' or love of wisdom. Wisdom includes not just knowledge but adds justice and caring.

> Does not *wisdom* call,
> does not understanding raise *her* voice?
> By me kings reign
> and rulers decree what is just;
> By me princes rule
> and nobles govern the earth.
> I love those who love me,
> and those who seek me diligently find me.
> I walk in the way of righteousness,
> in the paths of justice,
> Endowing with wealth those who love me,
> and filling their treasuries.
> The Lord created me at the beginning of his work,
> the first of his acts of old.
> Ages ago I was set up,
> at the first, before the beginning of the earth.
> When there were no depths,
> I was brought forth;
> Before the mountains had been shaped,
> before the hills, I was brought forth;
> Before he had made the earth with its fields,
> or the first of the dust of the world.
> When he established the heavens, I was there,
> when he drew a circle on the face of the deep,
> When he made firm the skies above,
> when he established the fountains of the deep,
> When he assigned to the sea its limit,
> so that the waters might not transgress his command,
> When he marked out the foundations of the earth,
> *then was I beside him, like a master workman:*
> And I was daily his delight,
> rejoicing before him always
> Rejoicing in his inhabited world
> and delighting in the sons of men.

(Proverbs 8:1, 15-17, 20-31, in *The Bible Reader*, 1969:384-5. Emphasis added.)

It seems clear that male and female teamwork was involved in the wholeness of the universe and that pursuit of knowledge by itself has become a masculine pursuit of narrow scope.

Women have been coming into an exclusive, elitist organisation with in inclusive, collaborative model, and the fabric which represented higher learning as we know it today is outworn. A new garment is needed - a robe that will include women. What do women

want, we hear asked over and over. They want to be included. They want equal treament and equal opportunity to replace preferential mistreatment. Women have much to offer to regain a sense of wholeness and health. They have been entrusted with the education of the very young but now realise they were teaching male models to their young. Awareness is step one, and women are becoming very aware of the state of things.

What is the state of things in the USA? What are the facts.

Women in Academic Ranks

Women now comprise 24 per cent of the total faculty. Upon closer scrutiny we find that women are just over 50 per cent of the instructors, 47 per cent of assistant professors, 36 per cent of associate professors, and less than 10 per cent of full professors. Women make up over 60 per cent of part-time faculty. Although there is much variation, most of the tenure track positions as well as most of those who are tenured are men. A recent suit against the University of California showed that 89 per cent of tenured track faculty were male and 92 per cent of those tenured were men.

According to the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), the average female professor was earning over $3,000 less than the average male professor as of 1980-81 (Sandler, 1982). The range was from $2,300 at public institutions to over $5,700 at private institutions. To quote, 'Overall, average salaries of men on nine-month contracts continue to exceed those of women in every academic rank and level of institutional unit.' The greatest gaps appeared in chemistry, biology, and in arts and sciences.

Reasons for Academic Rank Difference Found Invalid

The National Academy of Sciences looked at career outcomes in a matched sample of men and women Ph.Ds in 5000 triads of two men and one woman (Sandler, 1982). The study examined year, field of doctoral study, prestige of degree-granting institution, and race. *No* evidence of reverse discrimination, even ten years after affirmative action legislation, was found. The explanations offered, attempting to explain women's lack of advancement, were not borne out by the facts. Examples of invalid explanations included:

- women have recently earned their doctorate; therefore, are clustered in lower academic ranks; (Of those working on Ph.Ds, 25 per cent are women over 40 compared with 14 per cent of men over 40. They are a minority and were not found in this study.)

- family ties limit women's freedom to change jobs; (The study found that the younger women in the study were moving more frequently than the men.)

. women advance more slowly because they interrupt their careers with childbearing. (Only 10 per cent of women academics with small children had dropped out of the labour force. Less than half of the women with doctorates have children.)

These reasons may have been dreamed up by men whose wives have followed such a pattern, but they were all found to be invalid. Even when the 5000 were matched by prestige of the institution where they were employed or where they earned their degree, differences in salary and rank remained.

It reminded me of a brilliant woman I knew who had graduated from Harvard with a Master of Business Administration degree. After she was hired, one of her first assignments was to set up a luncheon appointment for a young man coming in for an interview who was in her graduating class. He was hired over lunch and invited to join their management training program. She had not known of any of those opportunities and did not begin with a luncheon appointment.

In this study, women at each level were more apt to be in nonfaculty or junior faculty. Men were 50 per cent more likely to reach full professor status among those who had received Ph.Ds 10 to 19 years ago. Of the 1975-78 graduates, two and one-half times as many women as men were 'involuntarily unemployed'. There were also salary differences. In the States, the courts have said that salary disparities do NOT prove faculty discrimination. It is rather influenced by a number of factors at individual colleges.

It is a time when both men and women feel trapped by the increased competition for positions. A man not getting tenure may call it reverse discrimination while a woman may call it sex discrimination. The sex discrimination is more apparent. In 1984, the majority of the faculty are between 35-45 years of age. By 1990, 35 per cent will be over 55. By the year 2000, over half of the faculty will be over 55 and many tenured faculty will be retiring. At this time 90 per cent of the workforce for the year 2000 is already hired (Hodgkinson, 1983). Many of the tenured lines are full and held by men. Where are women going? Often into continual recycling. They come up for tenure, get denied, go to the next institution, and may only be hired as part time or in a temporary position. The percentage of women on medical school faculties has fallen from 15 per cent in 1969 to 10 per cent in 1979 even though female students in medical school have increased from 9 per cent in 1969 to 24 per cent in 1979. The pyramid is growing shoulders - spreading out in the middle.

What About Women in Top Management?

At the very top we have some good news. As of April 1984, 254 women were chief executive officers at colleges and universities. That is a 70 per cent increase from 1975 when there were 148 CEOs. The percentage has gone from 5 per cent of the total to about 9 per cent in a decade. Some of this change is at single sex institutions. I don't believe you have any women's colleges in Australia. In the States, women now head 77 per cent of the women's colleges. In 1977 they headed less than half. In public, four-year institutions the

number of CEOs went from 5 to 28 in this decade. In two-year institutions the number jumped from 11 to 57. These include our community colleges where more than half of all our students are educated (Shavlick and Touchton, 1984).

Women in Middle Management

The Ford Foundation Special Report (1981) looked at 81 middle management positions and found that white men held 75 per cent of the positions with women holding 20 per cent. Two percent of that 20 per cent were minority women. At women's colleges, 63 per cent of the administrative jobs were held by women.

One-fourth of the white women at white coeducational institutions were in one of four positions: Dean of Nursing, Director of Library Services, Bookstore Manager and Registrar. Most of the other jobs were in student affairs or external affairs. Director of Affirmative Action and Equal Employment were positions invariably held by a women or a minority male.

As with faculty, there is an increase to 23 per cent overall in middle management, and the reasons given for lack of advancement to top management did not hold up under scrutiny. The most frequent reasons given, 'Women have been on the job for less time" was found not to be the case. Some of the largest salary differences were shown for women who had held their jobs longer than men. Other reasons given were: 'We are in a time of retrenchment', or 'We have low turnover', or 'Financial needs'. Ironically, there was greater progress for women and minorities at financially weaker, private institutions.

Processes of Change

Obstacles Cited are often Procedural

In the past, most jobs have occurred as a job description is written to describe the person that the school, department, or institution wants to hire. One of the reasons affirmative action officers cannot monitor that is because no one can fit the individual-specific description as well as the person who was described in the first place.

Promotion often Clouded by Ambiguity of Standards

Both the *Ford Foundation Special Report* and the *Health Education and Welfare Study* commented on the lack of *clear performance standards* for promotion, for tenure and for other advancements. 'Often this was dealt with informally when, in the old boys' network, having a beer, someone would ask about the possibilities of promotion and receive an informal seminar on how the system worked and what was needed. Most women were left out of that informal network.

Policies of *veteran preference requirements* also cut women out, for women have never been drafted nor given similar benefits to veterans for serving on other capacities, peace corps, for example. The *lack of support at the top* was still quite prevalent. Some women were shepherded through, often in an exclusive relationship with a mentor or sponsor and therefore viewed with suspicion.

So far, affirmative action legislation has helped individuals, not classes or groups, advance. But doors have opened for women as students. Once students, the primary barrier is still seen as the classroom. There, the nonverbal negations given to women students by faculty have been well documented (Hall, 1982). Often faculty are unaware of how much more often they call on male students, interrupt female students, look at their watch or move on if a woman becomes tentative in forming a question or an answer.

Five Changes that Have Occurred in the Last Decade

There are five specific changes which should be discussed:

- perceptions of what is possible;
- an increase in the number of role models on public media;
- federal and state laws opening doors that were formerly closed;
- ripple effect of litigation in terms of structural changes in hiring and monitoring;
- a growing number of coalitions and networks.

Perceptions may allow many lifestyles - including staying single and choosing a wider variety of careers, increased mobility when young, deferring marriage, or getting out of married lifestyle. While this was always so for men in our culture, it is only recently that women are now allowed these options. One of the fastest changes has been the 70 per cent increase in the number of men and women under 35 years who are choosing to remain single or become single. In the corporate world, a study of executives showed that while less than 5 per cent of the male executives were not married, and even fewer did not have children, the number of women executives not married, or divorced, widowed, or otherwise single was over 50 per cent with over 60 per cent remaining childless (Fraker, 1984:44). Here again, male perceptions seem to come from their own lifestyle, and their perceptions of what they assume women are doing as being similar to their own behaviour.

Role models are seen as newscasters, Olympic winners, pilots, postal carriers and vice-presidential candidates. Higher education has often lagged behind society. It is time to catch up and to be abreast of things. Laws are on the books and the campus has been invaded. Women have watched their sisters scratched from the system, not tenured or tenured tracked, and those who are tenured are choosing to fight far more battles, and provide more encouragement and support and undertake more education than in the past.

Litigation has had ripple affects. There are now grievance procedures and more committees involved in searches, recruitment and informal monitoring of the spirit of the law as well as the law

itself. Accountability is taking precedence over confidentiality, especially in trying to understand how the tenure decisions are made.

Coalitions and networks are coming into the information society, wielding new power. When jobs come up, women send out the moccasin telegraph alert through a variety of networks looking for candidates who are really competitive. Women are educating each other about how the system works and how interviews work in different locations. Exchange of information beings to make more and more difference. The Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education, ran the National Identification Program, built on 50 state networks, plus New York City, Chicago, D.C., and Puerto Rico. They found that being a president of one institution helps a move to another institution. The Women's Caucus of the American Association of Higher Education (largely administrators) held a workshop for women wishing to be top administrators. The panelists were women presidents who shared their selection experience, including the questions asked.

Some years ago, in the 1970s, a black ex-college president, Bill Moore, had 40 persons come to Ohio State on a stipend-grant post-graduate program. All wished to be educational administrators. All would be changing careers, from ministry or social work or teaching. One of the most effective things they did, as individuals, was to go and sit in on selection interviewing procedures. All 40 found positions by the end of the year.

Change Models of this Decade Ask for Visionaries, Managers, and Innovators with Values

Seymour Sarason looked at 30 years of failure and wrote a book, *Creation of Future Settings* (1975). He said that two kinds of persons were needed to ensure success - Visionaries and Managers. If you had only visionaries, those who didn't know how to capture and manage visions were lost in the dust. If you had only managers, people become bored. Rossabeth Kantor, in her most recent book, *The Change Masters* (1983), focussed on the innovators - those who would take risks, were creative thinkers and would start things happening at the periphery where no one was noticing.

Women have long been known to be visionary, managers and risk-takers. Still we sit on the underside of the pyramids. Faculty and administrators at policy-making level act as though we are not there, or at least not to be taken seriously. How can that be? As we have seen, women are more often part-time, temporary or moved over to non-faculty or administrative positions in middle management. When committees are formed within a college department or across a university, men outnumber women so badly that unless women are invited from non-faculty ranks or with part-time status, there will be no way for the few remaining women to cover all important committees, and even committees such as curricular commttees or committees on tenure are reactive, not proactive. To be on long-term planning committees, it is important to be more than one in number so that strategies may be discussed or support given.

External change includes court decisions, government regulations, enrollments, and revenue coming in. Some of these changes in America led to employment of equal opportunity officers and affirmative action officers and more women in middle management. Those appointed or hired from outside the institution had advantages of: starting with a clean slate; having no pre-existing concepts of the organization or pre-existing prejudices; being aware of new developments elsewhere; bringing independence and prestige; and able to take risks difficult for an insider.

The disadvantages being from outside were: lack of knowledge of the organisation; being seen as threatening and unpredictable; having limited commitment to the organisation; and if brought in by a chief executive, having little chance of influencing changes not desired by the executive.

If the appointments of women to these potentially powerful positions were internal, success would be based on five factors. First, receptivity to the ideas of others; secondly, willingness to do self-assessments as well as creative problem solving; thirdly, having resources for change; fourthly, being open in communication and having open channels to the top officials; and fifthly, having consensus on goals. The advantages of an internal appointment would be: knowing the organisation's structure and values (according to Peters and Waterman, 1981 values made the difference in corporations of excellence); being familiar to people and less threatening; having a personal incentive to be an ongoing part of the organisation; and having established legitimacy within the organisation.

The disadvantages of being an internal appointment were: lacking objectivity about organisation; having a predetermined perspective concerning problems and solution; lacking respect and legitimacy; and having had a role which could limit her flexibility and create ambiguity (Nordrall, 1982).

Whether appointments were internal or external, women had to share their power to move forward. At a conference on Women in Management run by two women faculty, not yet tenured, one woman addressed the 150 women present and asked, 'How many here in the audience wish to be boss?'. Every hand went up. She then said, 'Look to the right of you. Look to the left of you. Are you willing to assist that person in moving ahead? If not, none of you will reach top management.' I think one of the lessons from the women's movement that women learned and practiced was the sharing of power. The belief that power given to others would help everyone was very different from the hierarchical model of many male institutions. (Neither of the women running the conference received tenure. Women activists are often scratched by the male system.).

Some of the change models included documentation (research, development, and diffusion), problem solving, politics, linkages, and adaptive development. The *research* had to include more attention to women, class, and ethnicity. Collecting accurate information at all levels was crucial. Too often American research was incomplete and after the fact. Some of the best research was done in 'exit interviews', interviewing students on their way out of university. We would ask them what our institution could have done so that they would

not have had to leave. By doing that research we picked up valuable information on issues we needed to address as an institution. Often they had to do with need for support systems to help a student deal with child care, transition through divorce, widowhood or financial emergencies. Many times it had to do with intimidation in the classroom, still the primary barrier (Hall, 1982).

Problem-solving models were many. In action research, the problem solving process with a need to respond to personal needs was to diagnose the problems, to brainstorm the solutions and to build trust on ways to overcome barriers. The weakness inherent in those creative problem-solving models were the time they consumed.

Political action was also necessary. To be effective, the following five components were needed: advocates; commitment; determination; ability to influence others; and communication with the gate keepers above and below that middle position. In academia the gate keepers who kept women from advancing as graduate students were those who taught required courses in an elitist fashion without respect for the learner and often using sarcasm and ridicule. They made no bones about eliminating 50 per cent of each class they taught. The gate keepers to the top were sometimes secretaries, assistants to the presidents, or even janitors and building superintendents when it was important to keep a building open at night. Political action was usually made up of interest groups that would try to influence authorities to adopt change. It often led to resistance and conflict. The pitfall was that the group was vulnerable and losers could frustrate the goals of winners. None of the Women's Task Force members at my university have received tenure. We hope to do exit interviews with those women who have left our university over the past six years since the President's Advisory Board Women's Task Force was created to see where those persons are since they left.

Linkages are becoming more and more numerous in the States. Regional, state, national professional linkages are creating registries for job appointment information, offering grant money information. It is often where women in the middle ranks can go to advance forward.

Adaptive Development is what Jack Lindquist, President of a small experimental college, addressed in his *Strategies for Change* and his *Turning Colleges Toward Adults* (1978). His FLOOR model says you need F - forces for change present, L - linkages that are interpersonal and leadership that is influential, O - openness that is active and O - ownership of the project by each person involved who will be part of its use, and R - rewards that are either psychic or material. The major point is not to reinvent but to reshape ideas that have been used elsewhere. The National Project on the Status of Women has been putting out newsletters and field drafts to collect information of what is successful around the country and to keep us abreast of the court actions in the world of women at universities.

Other examples talked about by many of the change theorists are pilot projects done at the periphere such as adding night classes, night support systems, weekend colleges, all-day seminars and orientations on weekend time for those who work full time.

Decision-making models used in the processes of change are collegial, bureaucratic, political, atomistic, and those that use open collaboration. For women, these differ substantially than they do for men in the following ways. *Collegial models* assume the university to be a community of scholars making shared decisions. Women are rarely treated as part of this community at their institution. Their community is in the world at large where they go off nationally or internationally to be listened to and challenged with respect and dignity as being authentic scholars in a professional community often made up of women in similar fields.

Bureaucratic models tend to be exclusively male. Top decisions are made in a formal way by male executives in a defined hierarchical structure. The fact that you have authority confers power in making decisions. When women return from their professional conferences where they have been presenters or policy makers, they find at their own institution a cloud similar to the old cigar smoke of the proverbial back rooms that blocks their vision of what is going on at the top. The cloud is diffuse and cannot be held in focus easily.

Political decisions for women are often made at conferences where women share what has been effective elsewhere. They educate each other and then make decisions through negotiation and compromise. At their college, to be part of a political bloc before gaining tenure is risky business and needs support from the top if the women are not to be toppled out of the middle to the world of involuntarily unemployed. Men at their institutions are making these political decisions daily, over lunches, in informal afterwork meetings from which women are most often absent.

Atomistic decision-making models are made up of small units that make their own decisions without using institution-wide norms. A beautiful example on our campus is the Center for Research on Women which has just become a national clearing house for original research on women, especially women of colour. They are really addressing women's issues, class issues, and doing it in a scholarly way. They are gaining the respect of the nation at large. Their conference last summer on Women of Colour brought in prominent tenured professors and their doctoral students from Berkeley, Harvard, and Michigan and educated all those present; at the same time the women doctoral students had a chance for some recognition and time with their mentors. Their newsletter is exemplary.

The last model of decision making and one most used by women is one of open collarboation. Women have long been known for their ability to collaborate openly and to involve the entire group, regardless of status. Women have recognised the potential strength in the unused abilities of those present who by virtue of being women have been prevented from reaching the top positions. One of the changes in the States is that more and more women's colleges are choosing women for administrative and top leadership positions. Women who a decade ago were head of less than half of single sex institutions now head 77 per cent of them.

As we become more sophisticated about how the systems work, we are moving forward and filling the middle to overflowing. We are changing things from the middle. It is women's model, this zig-zag theory of change. Women's work on garments showed that zig-zag stitches in a garment allowed more stretch and better fit, whether in surgery or on seams. Because women are excluded from the upper levels of their parent institutions and have had to find their community of scholars in the world at large or their professional organisations, they had have to zig and zag to reach the top. Jo Gaha's presentation was a good example. As she received recognition in her union, her university had to pay more attention. Within their professional organisations, communications is often across gender, disciplines, race, and generation. Collegiality in organisations outside the parent institution leads to supportive, collaborative connections and linkages. The home institution is under greater pressure to promote the women who are being sought elsewhere, or those women are offered better positions at other more supportive institutions as their prestige grows elsewhere.

Needs of Women to Move Forward

Women need mentors and sponsors to supplement the skills, competencies, and credentials they have acquired. They also need formal and informal courses in budgeting, finance, teaching, supervision as well as knowledge of the structure of their university and how it works. We have a tenured faculty member running workshops on tenure. This will be open to women and minorities, faculty and staff, to allow greater sharing of inside information to occur. The women's caucus of the American Association of Higher Education ran workshops where women who were college presidents came and talked about the various processes they had gone through, the questions they were asked, and how they were each able to climb the ladder to the top.

Summary

We have been successful in mentoring women into the middle of things. Now, I hear male consultants to college presidents talking about how unimportant is the middle. How much in the middle can be eliminated by computers in our new information society. Women are surely as clever as men and will bring about a different kind of change from the middle. The collective wisdom of women sharing successful experiences has resulted in added dimensions of awareness and plans. Even though our networks are quite diverse, we agree across broad areas on some of the following:

. Change cannot be ordered in a college or university from the top down. Change can be facilitated by exploring needs to change. What are our goals? What does it mean to have a degree from our institition? What 'truths' are being pursued? Is it gender specific? class specific? exclusive and inclusive?

- Research is primary. Change often fails due to incomplete or incorrect assessment or analysis of the problems. Deciding what specific information is needed and what instruments can best obtain the desired information. Computer centers say 'Garbage in, garbage out' when people come in with diffuse requests.

- Change rarely occurs when there is little perceived need for change. A change plan designed by a small group will not be apt to grow.

- Many of these theories are inside the heads of persons who have been on campuses for any length of time. Looking at other theories may only suggest something that might be overlooked.

- Receptivity to change plus the wisdom of change for the institution may be the keys to compatibility with the local institution.

The streams of women in educational management at colleges, institutions, corporations and other agencies are crossing the flood plains of passivity and merging into an ongoing, vital force changing the shape of the landscape to larger rivers, slowly carving through sides of rock, giving breadth that crosses regional boundaries.

If women continue to expand in the middle and remain ignored by men, their coalition, networks, newsletters will grow and expand across regions, across countries, till one day, as in Naisbitts' *Megatrends* (1984) information sharing will cause change across the middle far faster than from the top down. Men would look around one morning and discover that without their noticing what was happening, women had changed the world. Transformed into collaborative power sharing from the middle down, they had involved those of all ages plus the larger communities of the world. They had built bridges across moats to industry and government. Classes were held everywhere. The world was the campus. War had become an obsolete problem solving technique and peace academies were offering seminars in diplomatic negotiations that were planet centered with outcomes based on the interdependence of all living things on each other. Women as visionaries, as innovators, and as educational managers had not waited for men. They had moved forward to be included in the world, and the world turned toward 'wellness' - the birth of a new era.

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EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY: A PERSPECTIVE ON THE NSW INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Suzanne Jobson

Introduction

This paper provides a perspective on equal employment opportunity from my experiences as the equal opportunity co-ordinator at the New South Wales Institute of Technology. The exercise has turned out to be something of a retrospective view on my time there and I have selected those aspects of the model followed at the Institute which may provide benefit to those involved in the development and implementation of similar programs in their own institutions.

The NSW Institute of Technology is, by any criteria, one of the most male-dominated tertiary educational institutions in New South Wales. Women are greatly under-represented among both the academic and general staff. Around 15 per cent of academic staff are women, and while women make up around 42 per cent of general staff, the majority are clustered into the lower grade clerical and keyboard positions, as they are in the workforce in general.

The low representation of women on academic staff reflects not only the difficulty women have faced in the past in entering academe, but also the areas of education and training on which the Institute has mainly focussed, namely the sciences and technologies. These are areas which women have not been traditionally encouraged to enter, and it will more than likely be many years before anything like a balance between the sexes among academics at the Institute is achieved. However, the Institute has already taken a number of positive steps aimed at raising the level of awareness as to the particular difficulties women face in entering many areas of education and employment, and laying the groundwork for ensuring that in the future women will be able to compete equally with men for educational and employment opportunities.

Policy on equal opportunity

In November 1982 the governing council of the Institute adopted a policy on equal opportunity which addressed the need to ensure the absence of discrimination in both employment and education. This occurred some 12 months prior to the scheduling of universities and colleges of advanced education under Part IXA of the NSW *Anti Discrimination Act*.

In April 1983 pursuant to its policy, an equal opportunity officer was appointed to develop and implement the policy. The major impetus for this came from a number of women who had been appointed to the Council in the previous year, as well as from women members of the Institute community, both staff and students. The development of such a policy also had the support of the President of the Institute and the Chancellor.

In the 18 month period prior to the adoption of the policy the Institute underwent an extensive process of debate and discussion at many levels of the organisation including academic board, faculty boards, and staff and student associations, concerning principles and concepts of discrimination and equal opportunity and the need for such a policy. The actual scheduling of universities and CAEs under the NSW *Anti Discrimination Act* in late 1983 created very little concern within the organisation and policy which emerged had the support and imprimatur of the chief executive officer and the governing council.

The manner in which the policy was formulated and the issues which the policy addressed were based on a number of principles which may well be critical in laying a firm basis for the introduction and implementation of an equal employment opportunity program in other tertiary institutions.

First was the process of debate and consultation which the Institute followed in formulating its policy. While it is rather utopian to claim that this resulted in a positive corporate perception of the many and complex issues involved in concepts of discrimination and equal opportunity, it did put the issues on the Institute agenda for discussion at the philosophical and conceptual levels and engendered a level of overt acceptance that positive measures had to be taken to implement the terms of the policy, even if one did not altogether agree with it.

The importance placed on the consultative process was emphasised in the preamble to the policy where Council stated its belief that it had 'taken into account, as appropriate, the many comments which were offered and it has provided scope for further development as needs are perceived, and appropriate measures derived to satisfy those needs'. Indeed it was the task of the Standing Committee on Equal Opportunity to identify these needs.

Secondly, the Council considered it essential for the successful implementation and development of the policy that 'such a policy be regarded as an integral part of good management practice'. In other words, it was envisaged that eventually practices necessary to ensure equality of opportunity would enter the mainstream of everyday Institute management, and not be regarded as simply a temporary aberration which would disappear after a respectable amount of lip service had been paid. While this might appear to be an over-optimistic objective, it was the view of Council from the start that if the policy was to succeed then the practices designed to ensure this must be integrated into the Institute structure.

The substance of the policy is diverse in the areas it covers. Section 1 outlines the general objectives of the policy and establishes a framework for its successful implementation together with mechanisms which will ensure its continued promotion.

Section 2 addresses needs relating to the elimination of discrimination of the grounds of sex. It is envisaged that future reports to the Council concerning needs in respect of other grounds covered in the policy will result in the addition of further sections to the policy, although it is recognised that some of the clauses in Section 2 also apply to these other areas.

The policy has two major objectives set down in Clause 1.1.1. These are:

- to eliminate discrimination and to ensure the continuing absence of discrimination in employment, access as a student, teaching method and course content on the grounds of race, sex, marital status, physical disability, homosexuality, *and on any other grounds which Council, on the recommendation of the Standing Committee, shall deem to constitute a disadvantage;*

- to promote equal opportunity in all aspects of the Institute's activities for women, persons with physical impairment, aborigines, members of other racial minorities, and homosexuals, *together with any other persons which the Council on the recommendation of the Standing Committee shall deem to be disadvantaged.*

The latter parts of these two clauses are important because they invoke the normal management process of the Institute, including the role of committees. It is common practice in the Institute for committees to act as interpreters of, and advisers on, Institute policies. It is a principal role of the Standing Committee on Equal Opportunity to enunciate and interpret the policy document. In other words, the method the Council chose to introduce the new policy, followed normal management procedures. In no way is the Standing Committee on Equal Opportunity an aberrant committee. Rather it is part of an established and ongoing management process. While the issues the policy addresses may be new to the Institute, the method for their introduction, interpretation and implementation are not.

The first step in implementing the principle enunciated earlier in the policy is that 'such a policy be regarded as an integral part of good management practice'. The committee should have the power to define and categorise because while it is possible to set down a policy in the way the Institute has done after consultation, nevertheless it always must be recognised that it is not until the time comes for a policy to be implemented that the need for definitions becomes apparent.

The Standing Committee is comprised of people who represent the major areas of the Institute community, namely the Council, the Students' Association, staff associations, the Academic Board and the Personnel Branch of the Institute. It should be noted that the Institute chose this alternative rather than seeking representatives from those groups its policy already had identified as being most likely to be discriminated against. The committee however is empowered in Clause 1.6 to appoint specialist committees to assist it in relation to particular areas of discrimination. This gives the committee the power to enlist the advice and expertise of people both inside and outside the Institute identified as having a particular understanding through experience and expertise of the needs of identified groups hence not seen to be relying exclusively on the edicts or views of any particular supreme commander. The committee is also required to report annually to Council.

The emphasis on integrating equal opportunity principles and practices into normal management structures and routines underlies the proposals for change in the policy.

Clause 2.1 of the Act directs that procedures be established to deal with claims of sexual harassment and discrimination by students and by academic and non-academic staff in all areas of Institute procedures, including personnel procedures and the assessment of students, as well as daily routines.

Section 2.2 is particularly important because it recognises that much decision making and management within the Institute occurs at the level of the faculty and the administrative unit. Indeed, management prerogatives at the faculty level in particular are jealously defended, and may in fact be strengthened if the proposal from faculties for the Institute to move to a system of faculty funding is realised. The policy directs 'that responsibility for implementing the equal opportunity policy become a routine part of the management of each faculty and each part of the administration'. It also stipulates that each faculty and administrative unit develop a plan directed towards the achievement of the objectives of the policy, and that these plans be submitted to the standing committee. Thereafter they submit an annual report on their progress to the standing committee. This allows for faculties and administrative units to review their situation and in consultation with the equal opportunity co-ordinator to proceed to develop strategies appropriate to their particular needs.

The administrative structure

The process of successfully implementing a policy is greatly enhanced if a structure is established from the start, which clearly delineates who is responsible for the implementation of the policy, and to whom they should report.

At the Institute the structure is as follows:

COUNCIL Governing body of the Institute	PRESIDENT As Chief Executive Officer has the role of Director of Equal Opportunity
STANDING COMMITTEE on Equal Opportunity	EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CO-ORDINATOR Located in President's Unit and reports directly to him/her. Executive member of the Standing Committee on Equal Opportunity. Direct access to the Institute community.
INSTITUTE COMMUNITY Academic and non-academic staff and students	

The relationship between the chief executive officer and the equal opportunity co-ordinator follows the model proposed in the *Affirmative Action Handbook*, and is one which I strongly support. If an equal employment opportunity program is to succeed, the officer charged with the responsibility for its development and implementation must have direct and unfettered access to the head of the organisation. However, in retrospect it would have been valuable had the Institute given some thought to a more innovative approach to the relationship between the chief executive and the equal opportunity co-ordinator, particularly where the co-ordinator is new to the organisation and is not knowledgeable of its conventions and practices.

Failure to take into account lack of familiarity with the organisation by co-ordinators, where relevant, can leave them in a very vulnerable position. Firstly, given the great disparity in the status and rank of the chief executive's and co-ordinator's position, too frequent approaches for assistance to the head can, in the long run, adversely affect co-ordinators' credibility. Furthermore, the programs that co-ordinators submit will be seen to have far-reaching implications for the organisation. Much of the co-ordinators' credibility, and the validity given to their proposals will hinge on the extent to which such proposals are seen to reflect co-ordinators' understanding of the organisation. That is not to say one necessarily accepts the organisation, but rather to find ways of making it operate to the advantage of equal employment opportunity.

What is needed, is for institutions to give some thought to identifying a person already within its ranks, who is sensitive to the issues, is versed in the ways of the tribe as it were, and with whom co-ordinators can pursue matters in a non-threatening environment. This person should be senior enough to have insights into the workings and attitudes of upper management, but should also have an appreciation of the situation of those located below the level of middle management.

A further problem is inherent in the relationship between the chief executive and the equal opportunity co-ordinator which can, in the long run, hinder, rather than enhance, the work of co-ordinators. Given the disparity in status between the head and the co-ordinator, it may, in some instances, be seen to be unusual that the co-ordinator have direct access to the chief executive. This may, in fact, be resented by officers who consider themselves to be of a higher status with functions that reflect more important priorities, but who have never had bestowed upon them the right to direct access to the head. This in fact was raised with me by several such officers at the Institute, who expressed the view that their job was no less important than mine and therefore they too should have direct access to the President.

Insights such as these into the perceptions by others of my position I found extremely valuable, and brought home to me the importance of recognising the political dynamics inherent in this function, and the need to establish effective communication networks throughout the organisation so that people, over time, will gain a knowledge and an understanding of the position and its functions.

If attention is not given to this there is a danger that people will seek alternative means of access to the head and in so doing, may subvert the character of the relationship intended between the co-ordinator and the chief executive.

The role of co-ordinator in tertiary educational institutions

Perhaps equal opportunity co-ordinators can best be described as paid political agitators, or put more politely perhaps, agents of social change. It is certainly true that, if one is effective in one's task, the result of one's efforts will be change. This therefore places co-ordinators in a position which is often both unique and unprecedented, in that it can be argued that most functions in a bureaucracy are geared to maintaining, rather than altering, the status quo. Therefore a major aspect of the job is to negotiate for new policies and procedures based on principles which institutions may have rarely, if ever, considered. If they have, they are often of the view that they have always practised such principles anyway. There is therefore a worthwhile exercise for organisations to think carefully about, and set down clearly, what they see to be the principal accountabilities of these officers.

A list of the accountabilities I identified after being in the co-ordinator's position at the Institute for some 6 months, which received the endorsement of the President and of the committee for evaluating this position, is in Attachment 1.

Using the concept of accountability to define co-ordinators' functions may be useful. For, worded properly, it assists in the process of establishing the notion that co-ordinators have a responsibility to assist the organisation in meeting its own objectives in the implementation of its policies (not to mention, where relevant, legislative requirements) while at the same time defining what is required of the organisation if it is to allow those objectives to be met.

Tangible reflections of the policy

Section 2 of the policy addresses needs in respect of the elimination of discrimination on the ground of sex, but some of these clauses apply readily to other areas of discrimination defined in the policy, including race and marital status. These areas are diverse and, given limited resources, required that priorities be established. Action was initiated in the following areas:

. establishing contact across a wide cross-section of the Institute community with particular emphasis on staff;

. constructing a profile of Institute personnel from existing records. This provided for a profile by sex only. Cross tabulations could be done of sex by job classification (for academic and administrative staff), age, length of service, those on tenure or contract and salary level;

. reviewing selection procedures for appointment and promotion and from this devising further procedures based on equal employment opportunity principles with the aim of integrating these into existing procedures. A major aspect of this review was attending selection committees as an observer as well as participating in the culling and shortlisting process. This is a valuable exercise and well worth the time and effort involved in providing insights as to how people are recruited and promoted in the organisation;

. developing a procedure to handle complaints relating to discrimination and equal opportunity for both staff and students. This involved a careful interpretation of the relevant clauses set down in the policy, the establishment of principles on which the procedure was to be based which were acceptable to the organisation and at the same time protected the interests of the parties involved, and developing a process which ensured confidentiality and protection from legal action;

. establishing a women's network among Institute staff providing a ready means for women within the Institute to communicate with one another and exchange information. It also provides an appropriate arena for women to acquire valuable experience in organising and running meetings, such as preparing agendas and chairing. An additional benefit is the means of access to information about the qualifications and skills within this group which can be recorded in a register held by the equal opportunity co-ordinator, giving that officer ready access to this information for putting women forward for appointment to committees and working parties;

. establishing a child care centre. This was identified by both Council and the President as a major priority in that it would provide a means of access to the Institute for women and single parents. The priority given to this project has been demonstrated in the fact that the responsibility for implementing Council's resolution in this matter has been given to a senior executive, that is an Associate Registrar, who regards this task as a serious aspect of his workload.

In the process the Institute followed in developing its policy, in the manner it introduced the policy into the Institute and in the administrative structure it developed for its implementation, the Institute by and large 'got it right'. The issues have been addressed both philosophically and practically and a commitment made at the institutional level to accepting the need for changes to occur. However, there is not consensus among individuals as to the necessity, or even justice, of the exercise. Many of the challenges facing other institutions in this area such as limited employment and promotional opportunities, entrenched attitudes and prejudices, fear of change and resistance to individuals entering areas of the Institute traditionally dominated by a particular group, apply equally to the Institute.

A sound basis, nevertheless, has been laid. Whether or not the Institute continues to 'get it right' remains to be seen.

Attachment 1

Principal Accountabilities

1. To develop the Policy on Equal Opportunity and to implement its provisions in a manner which is sensitive to the unprecedented nature of the issues addressed in the Policy within the Institute context and its effect on the Institute community.

2. To directly advise the President in his capacities as Chief Executive Officer of the Institute and the Director of Equal Opportunity on priorities relating to the Policy, and appropriate methods of implementation.

3. To report directly to the President to provide him with a continuing assessment of the effectiveness of the Policy and its related procedures.

4. To co-ordinate, as Executive Member, the operations of the Committee of the Governing Council established to formulate the Policy on Equal Opportunity. In particular, to regularly review the implementation of the Policy and to draw to that Committee's attention any impediments encountered.

5. To make recommendations aimed at overcoming opposition to the concepts of equal opportunity and anti-discrimination.

6. To reconcile divergent views and attitudes to the principles underlying equality.

7. To develop awareness and sensitivity to the Policy on Equal Opportunity throughout the whole Institute community through the effective use of Institute media resources, and through developing appropriate education and counselling programs.

8. Advise and guide each Faculty and part of the Administration in implementing the Policy through the development of guidelines and procedures for the development of management plans.

9. To review and make recommendations for amendments to relevant policies and procedures relating to both staff and students with the objective of ensuring that discriminatory practices do not occur in employment, in access as a student, in teaching method and in course content.

10. To develop appropriate procedures governing complaints relating to discrimination and equal opportunity in accordance with Council Policy.

11. Assist the Committee in preparing their report for Council by bringing before them material which conveys the current situation in relation to the implementation of Council's Policy.

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Marian Sawer

Introduction

The Australian National University (ANU), and particularly its research half, the Institute of Advanced Studies (IAS) is at the top of the prestige hierarchy of Australian tertiary educational institutions. As a general rule, the higher up any prestige hierarchy you go, the smaller will be the proportion of women. It is perhaps not surprising then that there are fewer women to be found on the academic staff of the ANU than at other Australian universities or Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs), and that this is particularly true of the IAS where women hold 6.5 per cent of academic positions and only 2 per cent of tenured academic positions. Overall at the ANU women form 1 per cent of the 253 top salary earners. This has created a manifest tension between the goal of the institution - to conduct research of national importance - and the sex imbalance to be found on the academic staff. Research has been skewed away from areas which would illuminate the experience of half the nation.

In the following paper, factors favouring change at the ANU and factors favouring the continuance of the status quo will be discussed and the styles of argument of those favouring and those resisting reform will be examined.

Factors Favouring Change at the ANU

Government Policy

The most important factor favouring change at the ANU is Government policy which includes:

The Sex Discrimination Act 1984. The Sex Discrimination Act introduces key concepts such as that of indirect discrimination and makes unlawful a number of employment practices which have been commonplace at the University. In order to avoid vicarious liability for the unlawful acts of employees the University has prepared, for example, equal employment opportunity (EEO) guidelines for selection interviewers which warn that it is unlawful to request information from job candidates of one sex or marital status which would not be requested of persons of the other sex.

The Government's Affirmative Action Pilot Program. The ANU is one of the three tertiary educational institutions participating in the Government's Affirmative Action Pilot Program. Having accepted the Prime Minister's invitation we are committed to a systematic program including goals and targets and effective monitoring and evaluating procedures. A member of the Government's Affirmative Action Resource Unit will be assisting the University on a part-time basis in the development of its program.

The personal commitment of the Minister for Education and Youth Affairs to affirmative action for women. This commitment has been expressed in practical ways such as the choice of appointees to the University Council. Recent appointees include Julia Ryan, a school teacher who was previously a lecturer in Women's Studies at the University, and Joan Ford, Human Resources Co-ordinator at ESSO Australia who was responsible for the development of that company's EEO Program.

The Public Service Reform Act 1984. Many of the University's conditions of service are parallel to those of the Australian Public Service (APS) and traditionally the University has been influenced by developments in the APS, at least in relation to general staff. The passage of legislation making the introduction of EEO Programs mandatory in the APS and certain statutory authorities has therefore been of some influence on those responsible for personnel policy at the University. Similarly the legislative commitment to industrial democracy in the APS has influenced the reception of EEO recommendations calling for greater general staff involvement in decision making.

The Scheduling of New South Wales (NSW) Tertiary Educational Institutions under Section IXA of the NSW Anti-Discrimination Act. The scheduling of the NSW Universities and CAEs under legislation requiring the development of EEO programs has caused shock waves elsewhere in the tertiary educational sector. The argument that failure to make progress on a voluntary basis will result in the imposition of similar legislative requirements by the Commonwealth Government has made some impact.

Commitment from the Top

A number of the most senior officers at the University, such as the Vice-Chancellor, the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, the Secretary and the Personnel Manager have become actively involved in the promotion of EEO. The appointment of the EEO Consultant in October 1983 and the commissioning of the EEO Report was largely at the initiative of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor. Commitment from the top has made it relatively easy to introduce EEO initiatives on the general staff side of the University.

Examples of recent initiatives which have implemented recommendations in the EEO Report include:

- the sending of two women to the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) Administrative Staff Course scheduled for August 1984, compared with the previous record of sending only two women in the fourteen years 1969-83;

- the introduction of a specialised staff training and development course for women employees. This four-day course has been organised by the Association of Women Employees in conjunction with the University's Staff Training and Development Unit. It is entitled 'Enhancing Work Effectiveness: a workshop for women' and will be held for the first time in September;

- affirmative recruitment of women into non-traditional jobs - a brochure is being prepared for distribution in Junior Colleges, TAFE Colleges, Commonwealth Employment (CES), and the Career Reference Centre;

- inclusion of EEO responsibilities in duty statements of the Employment Officer and Appointment Officer (to be followed by inclusion in duty statements of other administrative and clerical staff in the Personnel Office).

Congruence of EEO Recommendations with Pre-existing Objectives

Recommendations in the EEO Report coincided in part with the long-standing desire of the Personnel Manager to improve personnel procedures at the University through, for example, the use of objective selection criteria. This has made a number of changes in selection procedures for members of general staff readily acceptable. Council *has already approved* the following recommendations in relation to *general staff:*

- the use of objective selection criteria for all positions to be lodged with the Personnel Office for scrutiny, and to be available for candidates; positions for which objective (and non-discriminatory) selection criteria are not available will not be advertised;

- the use of selection committees for all full-time appointments of six months or more; decisions relating to short-term or part-time positions are to be available for scrutiny for EEO purposes;

- the distribution of EEO Guidelines to all members of selection committees.

The Secretary of the University, after consultation with general staff bodies, has recommended that Council approve:

- the inclusion of at least one woman and one man on selection committees at all times, if necessary by recruiting members of cognate areas or institutions or by modifying exclusionary qualifications such as seniority, and the monitoring of the composition of selection committees;

- the involvement of at least one woman and one man in the culling of candidates;

- the requirement that all members of academic and general staff likely to sit on selection committees for general staff posts attend a short briefing session on selection procedures and that by December 1985 all selection committees include at least one person who has attended the briefing session;

. the requirement that clear documentation be provided by the selection committees of all stages of the selection process, including the original criteria, the criteria used in culling, and the reasons the successful candidate was preferred over other candidates in terms of the original selection criteria. Appointments will not be approved by the Personnel Office until such documentation has been produced.

Another EEO recommendation which coincided with pre-existing desires for change concerns the introduction of exit interviews - this has now been approved for general staff by Council.

Occupational Health Considerations

The EEO recommendation that more adequate career opportunities be provided for women in keyboard classifications has coincided with an epidemic of repetition strain injuries among members of these classifications. These injuries have given rise to large compensation claims (75 compensation claims had been lodged by the end of July 1984) and have rendered the University responsive to the demand for the redesign of these classifications. Those employed in the word-processing classifications introduced in 1980 have been engaged in work for up to seven hours a day. Apart from the narrow range of skills employed and the lack of career opportunities in these positions it was subsequently suggested by the University's Occupationsal Health and Safety Committee that the lack of attention to job design represented a pressing occupational health hazard. A major committee (the R29 Committee), with representatives from the Committee of General Staffing, the Association of Women Employees, staff affected, area managements and the Personnel Office, is now conducting extensive work on the possibility of a unified career structure for clerical and keyboard workers and the provision of a greater variety of tasks (including those appropriate to promotion within the organisation) for employees in keyboard classifications. Some 160 women attended the meeting to elect representatives of keyboard and clerical classifications to the R29 Committee.

Collective Organisation of Women

In the past, women employees at the ANU have failed to organise effectively on a collective basis. Women academics have been clustered in short-term and vulnerable positions and have tended to be individualistic in style, concentrating on their own careers in a context where the odds are stacked against their success. Women on the general staff have also been concentrated in positions where feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability are reinforced by close dependence on the goodwill of a supervisor. Neither academic women nor women on the general staff have in the past taken a significant role in unions represented on campus. Since 1983 women have begun organising collectively on campus in a purposeful and effective way as noted below.

Association of Women Employees. The Association of Women Employees (AWE) and its Working Party was formed in October 1983. Some 100 women regularly attend general meetings of AWE and the 21 members of the Working Party meet on a fortnightly basis (sub-committees may meet more frequently). The Association of Women Employees has achieved representation on the following University Committees:

- EEO Committee
- Committee on General Staffing
- Occupational Health and Safety Committee
- Tenosynovitis Sub-Committee of OH and SC
- Senior Classifications Committee

As well, the 1983-84 Convenor of the AWE Working Party has been elected to University Council as one of the two General Staff Representatives (the other is also a woman).

The Association of Women Employees is producing a monthly eight-page typeset newsletter entitled *AWE-Inspired* which is playing a vital role in increasing access of women employees to information and in providing a medium for women to communicate with each other. AWE has been notable for the very active participation of women on the general staff, who have been mobilised over issues such as tenosynovitis and career opportunities. Academic women and non-academic women have worked closely together on AWE sub-committees, which has proved an important learning experience and resulted in increased collective knowledge of the structure and dynamics of the University. Many members of general staff were unaware of University provisions which might benefit them - such as the possibility of transferring to flexitime or to fractional full-time appointments. Many members of the academic staff were unaware of the structures of power at the University.

Role in Campus Unions. Women have been taking a much more active role in campus unions. The Health and Research Employees Association(HAREA), with some 640 members, is the University's largest union and has a predominantly female membership. Women now make up 9 of the 13 members of the HAREA executive and are successfully promoting issues such as sexual harassment, tenosynovitis, terms of employment of research assistants and career structures for keyboard workers. Women are also playing a more active role in the male dominated unions, the Association of Drafting Supervisors and Technical Employees of Australia (ADSTE) and the ANU Administrative and Allied Officers Association (AAOA), the other two major general staff unions. These three unions are represented in a Peak Council, which recently established a Sub-committee on Child Care. This is the first time that unions on campus have taken up the issue of child care for employees.

Networking. A number of women's networks have been formed, bringing together academic women and general staff women, in part as a spin-off from the activities of the AWE Working Party and in part as a response to the referral of EEO recommendations to academic boards, faculties and other bodies. The development of women's networks has been particularly marked in male-dominated areas such as the Science

Faculty and some of the Research Schools. A formal EEO Contact Group with about 36 members has also been created as a channel for two-way communication between the University EEO Committee and employees in each geographic area of the university. Both women and men are in this group, but there are a majority of women. It has been suggested that each EEO contact be regarded as a node for the development of further area networks. Briefing materials are supplied to the EEO contacts and they are reporting back at monthly meetings on their success in raising awareness of EEO issues and on problems which still need to be overcome. Both women only and mixed-gender assertion training is being provided for EEO contacts.

Another form of networking is the support group which has been created for those suffering from repetition strain injury (RSI). About 50 RSI victims are on the mailing list for this group, and about 21 of them are participating in stress management workshops which include assertion training and relaxation therapy.

Factors Favouring the Status Quo

Academic Autonomy

Traditionally academics have not been subject to the kind of independent review of decision making found in other forms of public sector employment. Academics have been trusted to behave as scholars and 'gentlemen', and appeals systems or other forms of external scrutiny of, for example, selection or promotion processes have been considered unnecessary. Moreover, although senior academics are likely to acquire significant administrative responsibilities including that for subordinate staff, few Australian academics have any formal training for such duties. It has not been regarded as important for academics to attend courses in selection procedures or personnel management. Most academics are quite out of touch with developments elsewhere in personnel practice.

The passage of the *Sex Discrimination Act, 1984* means that it is more likely that academic selection and promotion procedures will come under external scrutiny and the same is true of the affirmative action pilot program and proposed affirmative action legislation. Because academics have enjoyed for so long a privileged position in relation to decision making, there is considerable resistance to giving up these managerial prerogatives. This fear of independent scrutiny of often somewhat cosy practices is justified in the name of academic freedom. The principle of academic freedom signifies the freedom to pursue scientific truth independently of religious or political pressures. It does not signify the freedom of academics from the requirements of justice and equity in relation to employment practices. However the emotional resonance surrounding the concept of academic freedom has often been transferred to a defence of the autonomy of academic institutions from the requirements of justice and equity. References to 'government interference' tend to trigger off the same responses in academics as in small business people, despite the reliance of academics on public funding.

Economic Constraints

The reduction in real terms of tertiary educational expenditure in recent years has created increased pressures on staff, particularly on support staff. Increased work loads are being carried by fewer employees. These pressures may be exacerbated, as at the ANU, by the number of support staff absent on sick leave due to repetition strain injury. In this context, where there are longstanding unmet claims for resources to reduce existing pressures, the need to divert some resources to an EEO program will be a highly sensitive issue. Opponents of change will attempt to channel resentment aroused by understaffing into resentment against the EEO Program. The EEO Program will be construed as stealing resources which could hypothetically have been gained by an existing area of the institution.

The Concept of Academic Excellence

The concepts of merit and of academic excellence often become talismans with which to ward off changes to the status quo. The concepts have taken on a certain mystical status and it is regarded as almost sacrilegious to expose them to scholarly analysis. It must be taken on trust that academic institutions are dedicated to the pursuit of excellence, and that those in positions of authority within academic institutions have some means of recognising excellence. Although it is very hard to find definitions of academic excellence the following is offered in a novel of university life by a research professor at the ANU:

> Quality was hard to measure precisely, but a couple of well-reviewed books was a useful talisman, a large research grant was another, a full professorship, the top academic rank, a third.
>
> (Aitkin, 1981:3)

This definition is interesting in so far as it is offered in the context of a teaching position. Women on academic staffs have often concentrated in teaching positions and it is often suggested that the undervaluing of teaching abilities in the construction of academic excellence has discriminated against women.

It has been suggested that working definitions of excellence or merit at Australian tertiary institutions have a number of elements which are rarely mentioned by proponents of the merit principle and/or the preservation of academic excellence:

- the fact that the candidate has never criticised in public the work of the Head of Department;
- the number of times that the candidate has cited the work of the Head of Department in academic publications;
- the degree to which the Head of Department can identify with the candidate - some departments appear to be recruited largely on the basis of social or political similarity. Some Heads of Department identify strongly with graduates of their own alma mater;

. the extent to which the Head of Department is obligated to the referees of the candidate;

. the fact that the candidate is not perceived as a threat to the Head of Department or to the way in which the department is currently run.

Despite the fact that the operation of the merit principle appears to result in a suspicious lack of diversity in many departments, and despite the absence of any agreed objective criteria for merit or excellence, these concepts still hold powerful sway in academic institutions. Few academics are familiar with academic work, such as that by Robert Merton which analyses the nature of 'merit' as a social construct deriving from relatively closed networks (for example, Merton, 1973:440). In my own discipline, that of political science, the academic who is cited far more frequently in international referred journals than any other Australian political scientist, Dr Carole Pateman, has consistently been denied a chair in this country (Jupp, 1983:4). Carole Pateman is cited almost four times as often in international referred journals as the holder of the most senior political science chair in the country, one indication of the profound influence she has exercised on the discipline. Nevertheless, selection committees have viewed her as having insufficient 'merit' to be appointed to a chair.

On the general staff side of universities such as the ANU there tends to be a greater awareness of the need for objective standards by which to judge merit. There may still, however, be bias built into the objective standards employed. It has been observed (for example, Burton, 1983) that the characteristics regarded as appropriate in a senior manager or administrator will often coincide with the characteristic regarded as culturally appropriate for males. Characteristics which may be equally important in senior positions (for example, the capacity to be supportive of subordinates) may be undervalued.

Overall the resistance to close examination of the concepts of excellence or merit and the reverence in which such concepts are still held makes them effective weapons in resistance to change. The suggestion is an emotive one, that widening of the construction of merit must lead to an erosion of standards. The present gatekeepers are the true custodians of excellence, keeping the lamp of scholarship alight amid the darkening gloom represented by barbarian hordes of women and other untutored souls.

Decision-Making by Committee

Whereas commitment from the top may favour change on the general staff side of universities, matters are by no means so simple on the academic side of universities where government is by committee rather than through a hierarchical chain of command. The fragmentation of authority relating to academic matters among committees means a multiplication of veto groups. In such a system of governance it is much easier to resist change than to promote it (see Sawer, 1984:47-49). There are a large number of bodies from which approval for innovations are required, each of which has an inbuilt interest in preserving its

own authority and status as something other than a 'rubber stamp' for recommendations emanating from central administration. It is easy for momentum to be lost, and for reformers to lose patience or become cynical about the possibilities for change. By the time reform packages have emerged from the plethora of academic committees which make up the authority structure of tertiary educational authorities, they often no longer make sense. The process will have been important in terms of system maintenance, maintenance of the authority of each composite part of the system, but fatal in terms of any coherent reforms.

Styles of Argument used by Protagonists and Opponents of Reform

Dialogue of the Deaf

Protagonists and opponents of EEO programs are often speaking different languages; and the result is that participants in debates do not hear what each other is saying. There are a number of factors contributing to this situation:

- Protagonists of reform are often talking about systemic causes of discrimination - supporters of the status quo do not hear or understand this and interpret arguments for reform as personal criticism ('calling into question the judgment, if not the integrity, of those involved in recruitment and promotion over the years').

- Protagonists of reform are often of lower status than opponents and hence they are not listened to as carefully as they might otherwise be - deference within academic circles is still primarily accorded on the basis of status rather than the quality of argument - or perhaps arguments simply appear more powerful coming from powerful people?

- Whereas supporters of reform will often have mastered a wide range of relatively subtle varieties of discrimination, those advantaged by the status quo will rarely have bothered to master the literature. None of the present outspoken critics of EEO principles have taken the trouble to familiarise themselves with the enormous literature on the subject. This disparity in expertise means that those involved in EEO debates are likely to be talking past each other to different audiences. Those who have EEO expertise are likely to discount uninformed opinions, whereas the opponents of EEO do not see it as important to their scholarly reputation to demonstrate any mastery of the literature in this area and rely instead on emotive slogans such as academic freedom, the preservation of academic excellence, or 'my wife'.

- The protagonists of reform will often be women and there many ways in which the views of women are discounted in our culture. If the protagonists of reform can be labelled as 'strident' or 'emotional' it will be unnecessary to listen attentively to what they are saying. The fact that many feminists themselves reject

the dominant form of scholarly discourse and/or traditional notions of scholarly objectivity itself contributes to mutual misunderstanding. There is an almost insuperable epistemological divide between those who believe that subjective experience forms the basis of knowledge and those who believe that knowledge can be independent of the values and experience of either the researcher or the object of research. This epistemological divide has been widening rather than narrowing as feminists become more critical of the lack of attention paid by male experts to the experiential evidence presented by women. While self-disclosure may be taken as evidence of authenticity by supporters of reform, it may be interpreted as evidence of a lack of objectivity by opponents of reform.

Case Study - Women on Selection Committees

Arguments for the presence of women on selection committees, distilled from the EEO Report, the Report of the Secretary to Council Following Consultations with General Staff, and a submission to the Research School of Social Sciences Sub-Committee on EEO, are:

- the inclusion of women on selection panels decreases the likelihood of direct or indirect discrimination on the basis of sex and may increase the confidence of women candidates - women are more likely to be sensitive to subtle forms of discrimination;

- women are likely to bring a different range of skills to the interviewing process;

- the presence of women on selection panels is one way to gauge the ability of candidates to communicate effectively with both women and men, a significant factor in relation to any University position;

- the involvement of women in selection committees enables women to obtain experience of the way in which selection committees work - this may enhance the confidence of women in applying for subsequent positions;

- the presence of women on selection committees is important in projecting the image of the University as an equal opportunity employer - the composition of the selection committee may be an important piece of information for outsiders in regard to the status of women at the University.

Arguments against the requirement that selection committees should include both men and women are:

- that the requirement will result in tokenism with neither the person nor the area concerned obtaining much benefit;

- that the insufficient numbers of women available in many areas will result in the overloading of women with committee work to the detriment of their own careers;

- that the presence of women on selection committees is irrelevant in areas where there are no women candidates;

- the floodgate argument that if the principle were to be accepted that women should be present on selection committees this would open the way to demands from other disadvantaged groups that they should also be represented on selection panels.

This argument is particularly reminiscent of the kind of argument identified by Cornford (writing in 1908) as characteristic of those resisting reform in academic institutions. Cornford identified the following styles of argument:

- the Principle of the Wedge - that you should not act justly now for fear of raising expectations that you may act still more justly in the future;

- the Principle of the Dangerous Precedent - every public action which is not customary is either wrong, or if it is right is a dangerous precedent;

- Give the Present System a Fair Trial - a fair trial ought to be given only to systems which already exist - not to proposed alternatives;

- the Principle of Unripe Time - people should not do at the present moment what they think right because the time is not ripe. Cornford added that time, like the medlar, had the trick of going rotten before it was ripe.

(Cornford, 1908:14-16)

Subsidiary arguments identified by Cornford included the following:

- the present measure would block the way for more far-reaching reform (which is impractical);

- the machinery for effecting the proposed objects already exists (unfortunately it has never worked);

- it is better that all reform should come from within (the Washing Linen Principle that it is better never to wash your linen if you cannot do it without anyone knowing);

- 'I was in favour of the proposal until I heard X's argument in support of it' - a weak argument in favour of a proposal used to negate all the good arguments for it;

> . conservative arguments concerning the wild cat nature of proposals not familiar in 1881.
>
> (Cornford, 1908:17-18)

Cornford writing in Cambridge some seventy-five years ago identified the major motives for resisting change in academic institutions as:

> (i) fear of giving oneself away;
> (ii) fear of females.
>
> (Cornford, 1908:12)

It seems that little has changed in regard to the style of argument of those resisting reform. If fear of women is a primary motive of those resisting reform in tertiary educational institutions has real change become any more likely? Will all victories be pyrrhic ones? It is too early to judge the effectiveness of EEO programs being initiated in the tertiary educational sector in redistributing power. However there is always a very real danger that apparent gains by women are accompanied by the shift of real power/influence elsewhere.

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ROLE OF GOVERNMENT
IN FOSTERING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

THE ROAD TO EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Joan Bielski

Introduction

The New South Wales experience of legislation in support of affirmative action in employment builds on the experience of the United States of America and other countries. It is careful to emphasise that affirmative action does not displace the merit system, but enhances it; that it does not impose quotas, but sets reasonable goals and targets with which to measure progress. The legislation's application to tertiary education institutions is in advance of other states in Australia and can usefully be described and analysed so that they can take lessons from experience.

The 1960s and 1970s saw the flowering of social movements in western countries which signalled that the powerless were restive and no longer prepared to accept the places assigned to them by a discriminatory social system.

In Australia, women, Aborigines and migrants took stock of their situation and called for change. They were particularly insistent that they should participate in making decisions concerning their group and individual lives and that institutions should take note of their needs, their life style. They no longer accepted that the powerful, the professional were omniscient or beyond challenge or that they should speak for them.

Women became concerned that the governance of universities and colleges of advanced education (CAEs) their senates/councils, the professoriate and the top academic and administrative structures were male dominated. Many women held the view that, a hundred years after women entered universities, teaching and research disregarded and/or was uninformed by the experiential learning of half of the population; that resources needed to illuminate women's disadvantaged social situation were allocated elsewhere; that the norms, values and customs of tertiary institutions were predicated on the legitimacy of male values and the male life pattern.

Various reports and more recently the Commonwealth Government's Green Paper *Affirmative Action for Women (1984)* demonstrate that women are rarely at the governance or managerial level in tertiary education. When they are employed as academics they are more likely to be in the feminised areas such as early childhood education and para-medical studies. Even in these areas, head of school positions are now going to men, some without qualifications in the specific discipline, especially so in colleges of advanced education. Further, the disciplines in which women predominate have lost out in status and resources to the male-dominated disciplines.

[*Note: The views expressed are the personal opinions of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the NSW Minister for Education.*]

A national review of educational boards, commissions, councils, committees of inquiry, Ministerial and departmental advisory committees, and promotions, selections and appeals committees in education was carried out by Kathryn Cole and published in 1981. Her studies indicated that women made up 11 per cent of educational boards, commissions and statutory bodies. They were 17 per cent of the councils and educational institutions. There was no data available on limited life committees of inquiry. Women were 24.6 per cent of advisory committees and 13.4 per cent of promotion selection and appeals committees.

Volume II of the Commonwealth Government's *Affirmative Action for Women* Green Paper shows women's participation rates in all categories of employment in tertiary institutions as at March 1983 (1984:47-53). The trend throughout is that the lower the status, the more women, and vice versa. One cannot but echo the Green Paper:

> There are, no doubt, a number of different factors which operate within the promotions system, but these figures indicate that one of the determining factors is the sex of the academic.
>
> (1984:52).

The statistics by themselves describe rather than analyse and explain. There is a wealth of local and international research and anecdotal material which does analyse and explain, attesting to the reality and dynamics of discrimination in tertiary educational institutions.

The Need for Change

My association with academic women through my work since 1980 suggests that discrimination in tertiary education has some facets particular to it which require institutional remedy, rather than individual martyrdom, by recourse to antidiscrimination legislation. My observations include the following:

- Women in tertiary education experience a greater degree of powerlessness than do their sisters at other levels of education; they are most numerous in the lower level of academic categories, are more likely to be untenured than males; have a poor bargaining position and exhibit high levels of anxiety and insecurity.

- Many experience daily demoralising discrimination in the form of dereoatory remarks and are allotted the less attractive teaching hours and classes as well as the petty time-consuming organisation jobs all rationalised by skilled organisational academic seniors.

- Many women have poorly developed political skills. While well versed in their particular disciplines, they lack general knowledge of organisational structures, including their own institution and its relationship to government and the society. They are easily outmanoeuvred by superiors and colleagues who use seniority, sophisticated

'insider' information and male networks to defeat women's frequently reasonable requests.

. Women are generally excluded from influential committees because of their junior status, because the time the committees are scheduled clashes with domestic responsibilities or because they are not in the network of influence from which committee members are selected.

. Staff associations are relatively weak industrially and have only lately begun to work for women as a group. The associations experience ambivalence in caring for their least powerful members.

. The male life pattern, the male lifestyle and male priorities are still uncritically accepted as some natural law which inexorably determines the timetabling of classes, committees, employment practices and events in tertiary education. Child care is repeatedly refused on the grounds of being outside the funding policy of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC), but little or no effort has been made by the tertiary sector to influence CTEC's policies or priorities. It is easier to park your car than park your kid on campus.

. Male and female colleagues react differently to the issues: with hostility, indifference or enthusiasm.

. Many male colleagues profess liberal attitudes and can articulate pro-feminist attitudes but then rationalise along the lines of 'discrimination is a societal fact; institutions reflect the society because they are based on shared values'. Yet, contra-values exist: equality in public life, political values; equality before God, religious values; together with 'institutions are neutral: people don't take advantage of the opportunities offered, fault lies in the disadvantaged: that is Aborigines or women do not apply for positions, they are just not interested'. These attitudes indicate a failure to appreciate the deterring effects of discrimination on individuals and groups.

. Many male colleagues express liberal attitudes but act otherwise. This is particularly galling and difficult to deal with.

. Other males are misinformed or confused or feel personally threatened. Many feel that they have something to lose in services, prestige or realisation of ambitions, and have little to gain. In another educational arena, male high school teachers have been reluctant to attend inservice courses on the issue; to discover its relevance to administration, to relationships with female colleagues or to their own subject or special area. This needs to be understood by persons working in equal employment opportunity (EEO) programs.

. Few high status women express or show support for other women. Many of these women are untouched by feminism, and are individualists. Many keep their distance from known feminists and the staff association. Many view their own lives with satisfaction, see themselves as successful and tend to blame individual women for their lack of achievement or success. They do not appreciate the societal factors; that the sample of 'one' or 'one's friends' is not a useful statistical measure; that it expresses the exception not the rule; that they are members of the educational elite, the survivors; and that both individual discrimination and systemic discrimination affect motivation, the will to achieve and the educational and employment outcomes for many women.

. Other women, aware of the issues, alienate colleagues through their criticism, their expressions of just anger and frustation and their demands for immediate change.

The official documents and reports and my impressions suggest a situation which only concerted planned institutional action can address.

The education and training tasks envisaged in affirmative action programs encompass such issues. People are educable. Most are reasonable when confronted with the facts. Macquarie University Council, when confronted with the results of a survey on discrimination in their university, agreed mid-1983 to adopt an EEO policy and to develop an equal opportunity management plan.

The women's movement is fortunate in that it includes in its ranks many tertiary-educated women and many women academics. The latters' research validates women's claims to visibility in history, literature and the behavioural sciences, and documents the bias in law, medicine, and public financial arrangements.

University and college feminist research provides valuable resources for the women's movement, which is generally aware of the debt owed to academic women. Women are aware that many women academics suffer derision and take career risks when they undertake women's studies. Women may be forgiven if they conclude that women-in-the-family, obstetrics and gynaecology, and the technology of reproduction are the only reputable and respectable women's studies in tertiary institutions.

Women, both academics and those in the women's movement, are affronted that tertiary education institutions with pretensions to being in the forefront of progress and to being the determinants of standards of learning and exemplars as employers, as educators, as gate keepers and delineators of knowledge and as users of large sums of public money have been unmoved by women's demand for action. Women are affronted that tertiary education institutions have been unwilling to examine their institutions; to assess the validity or otherwise of women's criticisms.

While senior administration generally has failed to respond to women critics, some academics publicly assert that there is no discrimination in employment in tertiary institutions and/or that equal opportunity is the rule and that tertiary education institutions can be relied on not to discriminate. They assume that the universities and CAEs are somehow different from all the other major institutions of the society and are untouched by sexism.

Senior administrators have also resisted the idea that there is a need to counter discrimination or a need for the application of anti-discrimination legislation or affirmative action to tertiary education. Their main line of argument appears to be that such policies or legislation would interfere with academic freedom; with the right of academic institutions to select the best qualified candidate and that equal opportunity policies are a threat to academic standards. This last point is particularly enraging to women academics as it assumes that women candidates are asking for preference; to be appointed with less qualifications.

The tertiary education sector response has not been materially different from that of other employers, many of whom have not had the benefit of higher education, nor have they had the advantage of putting forward high-minded notions like academic freedom or institutional autonomy to rationalise the maintenance of the status quo. Academics fail to apply the techniques of critical enquiry to their own situation and they fail to comprehend the level of dismay and anger that women feel about discrimination.

The New South Wales Experience

In New South Wales the debate intensified in the early 1980s, when all government departments and statutory authorities were required, by an amendment to the New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Act, to develop equal employment management plans. Tertiary education was excluded from the list of statutory authorities. Women in universities and CAEs, especially those in the non-academic occupations, were deeply disappointed.

In September 1980 the New South Wales Public Service Association wrote to the Premier requesting that the provisions of Part IXA of the *Anti-Discrimination Act* apply to non-academic staff in tertiary institutions as a logical extension to the steps already taken by the government in the area of equal opportunity.

In 1981 women on campuses intensified their efforts. They formed women's groups and worked with and through staff associations and unions. In 1981 they established an across-campus coalition, Women in Tertiary Institutions, to co-ordinate their efforts on the campuses, in unions, with the women's movement and the government.

The Federation of University Staff Associations in August 1981, resolved to support affirmative action legislation to universities and to ask university administrations to appoint Equal Opportunity Co-ordinators and to adopt an affirmative action program.

In August 1981 the Lecturers' Association of the New South Wales Teachers' Federation, which has members in education departments in some CAEs, resolved -

> That an Affirmative Action Policy is required in every CAE and that this policy should aim to achieve 50% women - across all departments and schools; in all promotions positions; on all employment, promotions and selection committees, as members of college councils; and on all college committees and boards. As an interim measure, CAE councils should implement a policy of proportional representation of women in all promotions positions on all college committees except for selection and promotions positions, academic boards and college councils where the representation should be 50%.

The Federation of College Academics established a women's committee to develop a similar policy on equal opportunity.

The Committee on Equality of the Sexes in Education, advising the New South Wales Minister for Education in December 1981, resolved that:

> the Minister and the Higher Education Board be informed that the Committee supports the view that Affirmative Action is required in tertiary education employment as in other publicly funded education and that the Acts, By-Laws and Regulations of the various institutions should be amended to make affirmative action mandatory, but administered by the tertiary institutions to ensure that academic freedom and institutional autonomy is maintained.

The Fourth Annual Report of the New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board (June 1981) canvassed the issues of women's employment in tertiary education and recommended that:

> Part IXA of the Anti-Discrimination Act be amended to require all universities and colleges of advanced education to prepare and implement equal employment opportunity management plans for academic and non-academic staff.

The New South Wales Women's Advisory Council, long concerned about the employment situation of women in tertiary education because so many women at tutor and untenured junior lecturer level were being dismissed and because they realised that the small gains in women academic employment in recent years was being eroded, wrote of their concern to all universities and CAEs. In most cases they did not receive a reply and in others, little better than an acknowledgement that there was a problem.

In late 1981, the Women's Electoral Lobby asked the Premier and the Minister for Education to extend the cover of Part IXA of the *Anti Discrimination Act* to the universities and colleges.

By late 1981 the general view emerging was that New South Wales *Anti Discrimination Act*, by itself, was inadequate and would not materially change the employment position of women in tertiary institutions. The Act provided for individual complaints of discrimination to be investigated and conciliated. Individuals employed by universities and CAEs have used this procedure, however, others have declined because complainants -

- bear the burden of proof;
- often lack sufficient knowledge of the deliberations of selection committees, or the working of the hidden agendas of committees;
- fear deterioration of staff relationships which may follow public complaint;
- fear personal stress;
- fear they may be black listed and not obtain employment in other universities and CAEs.

These fears may not always be valid but they point to the need for a systemic response rather than individuals being required to bear the burdens of remedy. Hence the support for affirmative action; for planned and conscious programs to effect equal opportunity at every level of tertiary institutional employment.

In deference to the tertiary education claims to institutional autonomy and academic freedom, many women at first accepted that such programs should be rigorous but self administered. This was a view which at that time was shared by the government. All were remarkably optimistic. History supports the view that major progress in women's status and rights is not achieved through goodwill and gradual attitudinal change. Certainly, the history of women's advancement indicates that western societies have not voluntarily given women property rights, voting rights, equal pay, maternity leave or equal access to public employment without legislation which removes legal and/or structural barriers to equality. Usually, attitudinal change gradually follows legislative requirement.

One of my first actions in my present position was to advise the then Minister for Education that women were not in the networks of influence or of sufficient status within professional groups who, by statute, gained places on university senates and college councils. Therefore, as a matter of policy, government nominees should include women and, where possible, Aborigines. The then Minister for Education vigorously pursued this policy, so that by 1982, many well qualified women were members of university senates and college councils. The Higher Education Board (HEB) also makes considerable efforts to include women on their college course assessment committees. The Social Development Unit of the Minister for Education keeps a computerised register of women, together with curriculum vitae, for submission as the occasion arises. Those policies have gone some way towards changing the climate of university and college decision making.

In March 1982, the HEB appraised New South Wales vice-chancellors and college principals of the many calls for affirmative action. They forwarded to them a statistical analysis of the male/female employment patterns in tertiary education, together with a position

paper written by me in my capacity as adviser in sexism in education. The paper outlined the pressure and rationale for change, the options available and recommended voluntary compliance in programs parallelling those in the New South Wales Public Service. I concluded my paper thus:

> Public and voluntary development of affirmative action in tertiary education employment would enhance the reputation and credibility of the tertiary education institutions with persons who are concerned with equality of opportunity in the society and with continued respect for academic freedom.
>
> Refusal to meet the issue in a meaningful and innovative manner may invite -
>
> (a) the loss of goodwill at a time when tertiary education is under public question;
>
> (b) public lobbying of -
>
> (i) NSW government for legislation for affirmative action; and
>
> (ii) of the Federal Government to have the funding of tertiary educational institutions tied in some way to demonstrated compliance with Australia's obligations under various international conventions concerning equality of women.
>
> Since the staff associations and academic women have not yet developed a fixed policy or program, but are merely defining the issues, there is still time for the tertiary education authorities to take the initiative.

Nearly a year passed without serious response. In January 1983 the then Minister for Education wrote to all university and college governing bodies, bypassing vice-chancellors and principals, again suggesting a voluntary program parallelling the programs mandatory under Part IXA of the Act.

The three metropolitan universities and one or two CAEs began to move. Their response and that of all the others were reviewed by a committee convened by the Higher Education Board in June 1983. The results were less than impressive and indicated to me at least that most institutions were generally unmoved and/or did not know how to proceed.

Macquarie University had already embarked on its EEO program. Therefore, in September 1983, the Vice-Chancellor, in association with the Higher Education Board, hosted a two day seminar at the University during which the major issues and ways and means of achieving progress were explored. Senior administrators from a variety of New South Wales tertiary institutions attended.

Meanwhile, women and unions sought and gained the support of the New South Wales Trades and Labour Council in presenting their case to the Premier and Minister in charge of the administration of the NSW *Anti Discrimination Act*. At the end of September 1983, the universities and CAEs were scheduled under Part IXA of the Act which requires affirmative action not only for women but for migrants, Aborigines and other disadvantage groups.

The universities and CAEs had fiddled while women burned in anger and frustration. Their mood changed and they lobbied for the immediate application of the legislation, making affirmative action mandatory.

Part IXA requires universities and CAEs to prepare and implement EEO management plans which include:

- devising policies and programs to achieve the plan's objects;
- communicating them to employees;
- collecting and recording an appropriate data base;
- reviewing personnel practices, including recruitment, selection, training, staff development, promotion and transfer policies and patterns and conditions of service;
- setting reasonable goals and targets (not quotas) against which success can be assessed;
- evaluating policies and programs;
- revising and amending policies and programs;
- appointing persons within institutions to carry out the program.

Universities and CAEs are required to have prepared their plans and commenced implementation by June 1985.

The Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment is the statutory officer who oversights Part IXA of the Act. The Director's role is not coercive. Her functions are to:

- advise, assist;
- evaluate;
- make reports and recommendations to the Premier;
- consult (Section 122I);
- refer to the Anti Discrimination Board concerning any failure of omission in respect of a management plan, which referral would need to be substantiated under Section 122P. This provision also ensures that a university or CAE has the opportunity to demonstrate that its program meets the requirements of Section 122J of the Act.

The Director has published guidelines not prescriptions to assit universities and CAEs to comply. They are similar to those outlined in Chapter 4 of the Commonwealth Government's *Affirmative Action* Green Paper (1984:39).

The Act requires tertiary institutions to research their own policies, administration and personnel practices. This will cost some money. However, it is a cost which must be met. It needs to be viewed as the price to be paid for the failure of our public institutions, including tertiary education institutions, to address the issues of equity, access and accountability which are increasingly becoming a concern of public policy.

The requirements that employers must appoint persons to carry out the program has led to the development of a new type of public employee: the EEO co-ordinator. There is some considerable irony in the fact that many of the female tutors and untenured junior academics who disappeared from the campuses in the fallout of the late 1970s and early 1980s went into public sector employment. Many have been employed in the development of programs, designed to foster equality in education and employment, in women services and programs to redress past discrimination with its legacies of poverty and powerlessness. They consitute a core of experienced women, familiar with tertiary institutions, the literature of discrimination and the techniques of affirmative action, which can no doubt be drawn upon as universities and CAEs appoint EEO co-ordinators.

The persons appointed to carry out EEO programs will not only need a knowledge of the requirements but also high level social, political and communication skills. Otherwise women and senior administrators will experience backlash before they get any benefits.

The issues of academic freedom and institutional autonomy appear to be raised when the public interest is raised, but not when public money is required. Tertiary education institutions submit their research programs to outside funding bodies and respond to the demands of CTEC, building and safety regulations, industrial awards, salaries tribunals and many professional regulatory and licencing institutions. They are not high-minded islands free of government and other social pressures.

Expectations for the Future

What can we expect by way of results in the short and the long term?

- Gradual and modest improvements in women's employment. Statistics published by the Director of Equal Employment Opportunity in Public Employment indicate a modest but appreciable improvement has occurred in the employment position of women in New South Wales Public Sector employment in the period 1981-83.

- The dismantling of policies, practices and procedures which advantage men and disadvantage women - the dismantling of systemic discrimination.

- The application of rigorous procedures, a reduction in ad-hocery, the play of prejudice and favouritism in selection and promotion procedures.

- An increase in the talent pool available for selection; less chance of talents, creativity and intellectual potential being wasted and less chance of mediocre people being appointed and promoted.

- The experiential learning and life experiences of women being legitimated and brought to bear on aspects of university and CAE life: governance, the committee system, and priorities in teaching, research and resource allocation.

- Women employees gradually discarding the habits and attitudes engendered by discrimination: the habits of deference, low self esteem, self blame, self discrimination, limitations on aspirations and achievements and low incomes.

- Universities and CAEs will cease to be places in which many women experience work as a place of discomfit, hostility and oppression, requiring the learning of coping behaviours such as keeping a low profile, not responding to verbal indignities, taking on the menial tasks. Instead women will find them places for achievement, and intellectual and monetary reward; places where men and women work in harmony and mutual appreciation of one another's intellects and skills.

- The Universities of Sydney and Macquarie have realised that tertiary education produces its own intellectual workers and have already begun to research the dynamics of why women frequently do not enter male-dominated disciplines, why they drop out at the undergraduate and postgraduate stages.

Conclusion

The right of tertiary institutions to grant credentials for occupations and professions based on higher education is, by its very nature, a source of inequality. For the most part, tertiary education is publicly funded. Many see this as placing an obligation on it to take note of justice and equity in its administration and to take care not to compound the inequalities resulting from tertiary education by unfair discrimination.

The New South Wales experience and the national pilot program for affirmative action in three tertiary institutions will assist those institutions as yet untouched by State legislation or Commonwealth programs to realise that affirmative action - planned removal of discriminatory practices and procedures - is a requirement not an option.

The New South Wales Government tried exhortation and example without success. Legislation requiring compliance in an affirmative action program was the only alternative. Governments have done their homework and realise that women's voting patterns indicate that women are unlikely to tolerate a continuation of systemic discrimination, least of all in publicly-funded institutions.

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PROGRESS IN NEW SOUTH WALES: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION UNDER PART IXA OF THE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION ACT OF NEW SOUTH WALES

Hester Eisenstein

Introduction

This paper will give an account of current progress in affirmative action in universities and colleges of advanced education in New South Wales. The cheery title, emphasising progress, has been chosen partly to counterbalance the gloom and doom of the sorry history of discrimination that we all know too well and particularly the sad tale told so accurately by Joan Bielski of footdragging and hostility prior to the scheduling of universities and colleges of advanced education (CAEs) under Part IXA of the *New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Act* in December of 1983. However the word 'progress' is not just used for therapeutic purposes. This paper gives some encouraging information about some steps forward for affirmative action in the tertiary sector that have been taken since that scheduling. Following an overview of the current situation in New South Wales, some remarks about some of the problems encountered are made and some directions for the future are proposed.

Overview

First, some information about the history of the project, beginning with the passage of Part IXA of the legislation: an amendment to the *Anti-Discrimination Act* originally passed in New South Wales in 1977.

The original act created the Anti-Discrimination Board and what was later to become the Equal Opportunities Tribunal, that is, the machinery to bring individual and representative complaints on grounds of discrimination. In 1980 the Act was amended, in the wake of the review of the New South Wales administration carried out by Dr Peter Wilenski. That review had a number of recommendations, some of which have been adopted, some of which have not (the final report of the review is called *Unfinished Agenda*). But one of the successes of the review was the passage of Part IXA, which provided a requirement that the stage government carry out equal employment opportunity management plans.

The blueprint for the plans is contained in *The Affirmative Action Handbook*, written by Alison Ziller, who was appointed as the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment in September 1980. Since 1980, under the benign influence of a legislative requirement and of a monitoring agency headed by a statutory appointee reporting directly to the Premier, every state government department and declared authority has appointed an Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Co-ordinator, and in some cases EEO units, has carried out a statistical analysis of the workforce and has proceeded to implement change. These organisations have run EEO awareness courses and selection techniques training courses, and they have set numerical targets for an increase in hiring for women, for migrants, for Aborigines. (Note that these last two overlap with the first

category.) There has been a lot of activity in the state public sector, and some notable improvements have taken place.

Until 1983 universities and CAEs were exempted from this requirement. In 1983, with the pressure described by Joan Bielski, this was reversed and they were scheduled under the Act. In a sense then, the tertiary sector of New South Wales is at the beginning of the project. The state public administration is well down the track. Although there is a lot of variation among organisations it is not implied that miracles have occurred. Sex segmentation in the workforce in the state of New South Wales has not yet been eliminated. But there has been considerable progress. A study recently done shows a statistically significant increase in the number of women in middle managerial positions, although a slight decrease has taken place in senior positions.

Many of those attending the conference are just a few of the small army of EEO officers currently undertaking the work of preparing EEO management plans in universities and colleges of advanced education in New South Wales. Before reporting on the current state of play, a brief tribute to the work of Joan Bielski, who retires this year from the Ministry of Education. Joan understates her role in laying the ground work for EEO in the tertiary sector. She was largely responsible for the appointment of women to senates and councils in significant numbers, for organizing a network of Women in Tertiary Instititions (WITI), and in giving support and encouragement to all the academic and general staff women who were restless and seeking redress of their grievances. It would be difficult to overestimate her role. Thanks to Joan and many others a good deal of preliminary education work has been done.

In September 1984, of the New South Wales six universities, five had full-time EEO officers, variously named co-ordinators or directors of EEO. One institution also has a full-time co-ordinator, but she has a double task - a university and a CAE which are neighbours.

Of the fifteen CAEs (including the Catholic College of Education which remains exempt under the Act, but is complying voluntarily and has appointed a full-time EEO co-ordinator), there are nine CAEs with full-time EEO co-ordinators, although one of these is the one who is also covering a university. One has a part-time co-ordinator, two have appointed co-ordinators by secondment from an academic position, and three have added EEO duties to an already existing position (which is probably not a good idea).

Currently the EEO co-ordinators are developing and implementing questionnaires, and simultaneously carrying on a review of personnel practices. Good features of this project include the high degree of co-operation going on among the EEO co-ordinators and officers. They are meeting regularly, have subgroups and working committees, and are sharing their expertise, which is considerable. It is a great pleasure to work with them in such a co-operative way.

The task of the Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment is to advise and assist co-ordinators. This includes offering seminars on data collection, on grievance and on developing the review of personnel procedures. Guidelines are issued,

including a forthcoming set on grievance procedures. In addition, advice is given on all aspects of EEO programs, including questionnaire design.

The deadline for the lodging of the plans is 1 June 1985, so there is considerable pressure on the co-ordinators. One of the interesting features about being part of this whole process is that the universities and CAEs were a little bit quicker to understand the vastness of the project than were the public service organisations, partly because research is not a foreign animal to tertiary institutions. But nonetheless it has been important to push for more support in resources for the co-ordinator. Even though the tertiary institutions had some greater understanding of what kind of a project it was, it has been necessary to explain that the scope of the project and the difficulty of it is much greater than they had perhaps first imagined.

The current state of affairs is, then, that a lot of people are working very hard to develop initial EEO management plans for the tertiary sector. What they will have achieved, when those plans are lodged with the Directors Office, is a first stage which is really a baseline. The current statistics will be available and the difficulties involved in current procedures that need reform will be known in some detail. However, this knowledge will not produce reforms. So the development of management plans is only a preliminary activity, but one that is fundamental.

Problems

Some difficulties have arisen. One of these is the fairly delicate problem of a possible conflict or lack of understanding between the EEO officer and the already established feminist activist community at the institition. This is particularly difficult if the newly appointed EEO co-ordinator has come in at a senior level, with excellent conditions of employment, seemingly over the heads of the local academic and non-academic women who are usually temporary and low in status. It is even more difficult if the new EEO officer appears to have been selected for his or her lack of background in feminist activism or even (in the worst possible case) for his or her positive alienation from feminist concerns or identification.

It is, however, profoundly not in the interest of the previously organised feminist groups to be in opposition to the work of the EEO officer. Nor, by the same token, is it in the interest of the EEO officer to have the local feminist group or groups offside or to neglect the value and importance of the groundwork they have done, whether political or in the area of research and useful local information. The cynical observer is only too conscious of the effectiveness of the ancient strategy of divide and conquer.

In some instances the early fears of the local group have been assuaged by prompt actions on the part of the newly elevated EEO officer to establish contact and to create an effective alliance. Where this has not happened, it should be sought soon and effectively. The responsibility for creating such an effective alliance is on the shoulders both of the new EEO officer and of the local group in

seeking a way out of this particular impasse. But in reviewing this phenomenon - which has been observed, with variations, at a number of institutions, an assumption of educability needs to be retained. That is, the two sides need to realise the importance of communication, of the sharing of information about past experiences, and for an accurate perception of the difficult roles involved and how they can be used to good purpose. The high status and access to senior administrative circles of some EEO officers may create resentment and hostility. But these are also powerful levers for change. Similarly, the grassroots information and experience of local groups are crucial in informing the work of the EEO officer as he or she goes about drawing up a realistic blueprint for reform.

A second danger is what might be called the phenomenon of 'too many cooks'. Universities and CAEs in New South Wales are under a legislative obligation to submit their completed management plans to the Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment by or on 1 June 1985, that is, in less than a year's time. Most EEO officers will have established a timetable which provides among other things for time, before the due date, during which senior administrators and members of senates and councils can have their say in the wording and content of the final draft. This in effect moves the deadline forward by a least two to three months. Thus the actual time available for the completion of the plan is very short indeed.

The EEO officer is nonetheless under an obligation to consult fully at every stage of the way, not only with his or her EEO Committee, but with heads of schools, staff associations and relevant committees on matters such as promotion, tenure and reclassification of administrative staff. In this context it is a very difficult balancing act between, on the one hand, seeking the advice of all concerned groups, and on the other, producing a report that will meet the deadline and satisfy the legislative requirements of Part IXA of the Act.

One solution to this problem is, of course, getting adequate help for the co-ordinator in the form of resources, both personnel and material things, such as computer time, typing and photocopying. It is important to have adequate resources and those responsible should support this as a requirement of completing the task properly and effectively. But in addition, what is required, is a sense of limits, and a willingness to resist the perfectionism of self and of others. For example, for those institutions that have not yet conducted their questionnaires, there is no doubt that nearly any questionnaire can be improved upon by having several experts look it over. However, the law of diminishing returns also applies: that is, there is a point beyond which endless redesign produces little or no improvement, and indeed can create harm, undermining the credibility of the project in the eyes of the institution which is awaiting the survey. There is also the danger that the improvements suggested can be offered by people with great technical skill but little or no familiarity with the issues in the area of discrimination. The EEO officer must make her or his way along this tortuous path.

Directions for the future

Having touched on the difficulties, there are some exciting things that might come out of the EEO project, including measurable change. That may not happen between now and 1 June 1985, although it may be that the very process of doing the research in the institution provokes changes along the way, because the research on the review of personnel procedures uncovers some matters that can be altered by a stroke of the pen. Those can be very important changes. But the long term structural changes will take a while longer. They will probably happen, because there is sufficient energy and commitment to bring them about. In addition, there will be improvements when the academic community comes to reflect general society more accurately or more representatively. Even though the EEO project is about employment, that is, about staffing, fundamentally in academic institutions employment and staffing have also to do with curriculum, with content. The people who teach and make up part of the academic community are the people who shape what kinds of issues are raised, what kind of research is carried out, what kinds of social policies are examined from a research point of view, and what kinds of programs are developed for teaching in other institutions, in secondary education and in places like Technical and Further Education institutions. There will be a greater diversity of personnel, that is, more women, more people of non-English speaking backgrounds. more Aboriginal people, in positions where they are designing courses, where they are setting research objectives. That is an exciting prospect, because it opens up a new range of research questions. That development has already begun and it will be accelerated, and this is only to the good. The EEO project which should be seen not just as a reform in personnel practices but as a means of broadening the intellectual horizons as well, deserves support.

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COMMONWEALTH TERTIARY EDUCATION COMMISSION'S PLANS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE 1985-87 TRIENNIUM

Gregor Ramsay

Introduction

During the latter part of 1983 and in 1984, under the Commonwealth Government's direction, the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) has been examining -

> ways of achieving rapid, substantial and sustained reduction in the mismatch between the composition of society and the social composition of tertiary institutions, individual faculties and the tertiary sector as a whole.

As this suggests, disadvantage in the tertiary education sector is complex and should be viewed from each of these perspectives.

The Commission examined the extent of disadvantage facing some people in Australian society who may wish to participate in tertiary education, analysed available data, and proposed measures to increase participation of disadvantaged groups in Volume 1 of its *Report for 1985-87 Triennium*, released in May 1984. In making its recommendations the Commission stressed that the 1985-87 triennium should be seen as a time for all parties (that is, institutions, governments, individuals and organisations) to work towards the provision of greater equality of opportunity in all facets of tertiary education. The groups which face particular disadvantage and for whom there is a need to promote equity, have been identified as Aborigines, women, disabled persons, low income earners, persons in outer metropolitan areas and ethnic groups.

In urging a co-operative approach to greater equality of tertiary education provision, the Commission drew on a range of information to illustrate the extent of disadvantage, to identify measures which institutions might implement and to suggest future needs and directions.

The existing statistical base suggests an inequitable pattern of participation in higher education in our society. For example, high and middle socioeconomic groups participate more in higher education, Aborigines are significantly under-represented in tertiary education, and the participation of men and women in higher education reveals marked imbalances in certain fields.

An Australian Council for Educational Research study, *Youth in Transition*, which sampled persons up to the age of 19 who had participated in tertiary education at October 1980, found that universities and colleges of advanced education draw more from the high and middle socioeconomic groups. This was especially so with universities: their student population drew almost three times as much from the high socioeconomic group as it did from the low. The National Aboriginal Education Committee estimated that there were only 235 qualified and practising Aboriginal teachers in 1982. This represented 0.15 per

cent of the Aboriginal population, whereas teachers formed 1.8 per cent of the Australian population. In 1983 only 7 per cent of enrolments in engineering faculties at universities were women. In 1981-82, only 7 per cent of enrolments in apprenticeship courses were women. It is interesting to note that the proportion of female apprentices becomes significantly less when the figures for hairdressing are removed.

The Commonwealth Government, in the *Guidelines to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission for the 1985-87 Triennium* issued by the Commonwealth Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, Senator Ryan, on 5 July 1984, emphasised the Government's commitment to providing greater equity and broadening access during the 1985-87 triennium.

As indicated above, this is not an easy task. Consideration of equity issues often raises questions rather than provides answers. The Commission supports the Government's view that the 1985-87 triennium is a time not merely to raise questions of equity but to start to answer them. Senator Ryan indicated, in the Guidelines, that the Commonwealth Government expects 'continued co-operation from institutions in achieving the objective of broadening access over the triennium'. In this context it is imperative that all the institutions, organisations and individuals involved in tertiary education recognise their responsibility to provide equality of opportunity. The importance of this co-operation cannot be stressed too highly.

This Conference is concerned with women in higher educational management and this paper focusses on the educational disadvantage faced by women in tertiary education, particularly women students. It is from the students of today that future academic staff and indeed future leaders of the Australian society will be selected. Equal opportunity must be available for women students and women must be made aware of the opportunities open to them.

Educational equity is much more than providing places for the range of people previously denied access to higher education. It must extend to ensuring that the students who take up the places have the opportunity to do higher degree work and to gain appropriate management experience so that they can take their place in the senior teaching and management structure of educational organisations. To deny this is to deny equity. To do this, particularly in a time of limited growth, requires the reshaping of educational organisations in ways which will be extremely difficult to accommodate.

The Promotion of Equality of Access

Equality of access can be promoted in at least nine areas.

Entry

There is growing acceptance that strict application of order of merit lists obtained from Year 12 results does not provide equality of opportunity. Institutions, particularly those of higher education, should review their arrangements for entry. Consideration could be

given to the introduction and expansion of bridging, introductory and supplementary courses and to the provision of support, such as counselling services, special enclave arrangements and extra tutorial assistance for students in need.

Selection processes

Equality of access requires that an individual is able to exercise choice. It means not only that personal choice should be the determinant of entry to higher education (within the limits set by quality) but that the choice should be an informed and reasoned choice. Some groups are not in a strong position to make reasoned choices because of broken or incomplete secondary schooling or because of inappropriate subject choice in secondary school. Tertiary institutions have an important role in influencing the choices, and may well need to promote courses more actively and to provide support to some particular groups of students. In the years 1969-82, for example, four Aborigines graduated in Law from higher education institutions in Australia and in November 1983 five Aboriginal students were enrolled in medicine courses. An example of an institution taking active steps to encourage participation is the University of Newcastle's proposal to encourage Aboriginal students in medicine by establishing an enclave support program. As another example, and one specifically related to women, the New South Wales Institute of Technology has made special efforts to promote courses in the Faculty of Engineering to female high school students.

Higher degrees

Although women have increased their participation in higher degree studies in 1983 they accounted for only 32 per cent of enrolments in higher degree courses at universities. Data on the progress rate of postgraduate students indicate that the percentage of females who actually obtain a higher degree is even lower. These statistics are quite disturbing. Higher degrees are one of the key factors influencing employment and promotion prospects for women in tertiary education. Institutions must examine the direct and indirect practices which influence students to undertake further study.

Student Services

In the Guidelines for the CTEC the Government has supported the Commission's revised policy on the provision of child care as a student service. As such, minor works funds may be applied to the development of child care facilities. The Government has also supported the suggestion that child care facilities be included within major capital works proposals, especially in Technical and Further Education institutions (TAFE) where provision is now very low. It is the responsibility of institutions to ensure that the provision of child care services is given the appropriate priority. The provision of child care may be an important factor in encouraging more women to continue higher degree courses or for encouraging members of other disadvantaged groups to enter high education. Another student service to which institutions might give more attention is the need for

support services such as additional counselling for female students studying in non-traditional areas.

Instructional modes

Many women are in situations where the traditional lecture/tutorial modes during the conventional academic year are not suited to their needs. This applies to people in both metropolitan and regional areas and to both undergraduate and postgraduate work. Many institutions have explored new modes, particularly with variants on the distance education theme, but more needs to be done and, particularly, more teaching staff need to be drawn from the ranks of students who have studied in these different (and often difficult) circumstances.

Statistics

Efficient use of the human resources available in tertiary institutions, both at student and staff levels, requires the development of a comprehensive data bank. The statistical data currently available on the participation of all disadvantaged groups, including women, is inadequate. A priority for the next triennium clearly must be the development of an appropriate data bank and I am encouraging the Commission's efforts in this area.

Funding

The Minister has announced that an additional $65.15m would be available for tertiary education in 1985. This increase would allow for 15,000 extra places in higher education by 1987 and it was estimated that there would be growth of 15,000 places in technical and further education by 1987. Senator Ryan said earlier this month that these extra places would enable increased participation by women in higher education fields of study, such as science and technology, and in the non-traditional trades in TAFE.

Already in 1984 the Government has taken steps to promote participation by providing additional funding to institutions and for particular projects. The Government provided an additional $10m in recurrent grants. An amount of $250,000 was set aside to fund projects and investigations that would contribute to the longer term improvements of access by disadvantaged groups.

Under this program the Commission has commissioned a project on Mathematics and Science Programs in Primary Teacher Education. The aim of this project is to gather and disseminate to teacher educators, information designed to improve the teaching of mathematics and science in primary schools. The report of this study is expected late in 1984.

Another project commissioned by the Commission is a study to examine and evaluate Aboriginal enclave and enclave-type programs in higher education institutions. The report of this study is expected shortly.

A further project to review the research into the education disadvantage faced by women is currently being developed.

The Government has earmarked a total of $1m available in 1985 for investigations, pilot programs and measures to promote improved access to higher education by disadvantaged groups. The Commission will be seeking proposals for projects of this kind a little later in the year. I am strongly of the opinion here that the provision of small amounts of 'seed money' to encourage change could have quite a dramatic effect on our knowledge of ways of working with disadvantaged groups in future.

The provision of special funds for equity initiatives is most welcome and it will be for the individual institutions to ensure that the money is well spent. These measures should be seen as supplementary, designed to assist innovation. The major thrust towards equity in higher education must come from institutions themselves using their initiative within their allocated recurrent grants.

Equal opportunity officers

The Commission supports the appointment of equal opportunity officers not just as a means of promoting greater equity but as a management tool enabling the optimum use of all human resource skills. Employment of equal opportunity officers should be regarded as part of the normal administrative structure of higher education institutions and accordingly funded from general recurrent grants. A number of institutions have already established programs and policies aimed at achieving equal employment opportunities for women. More are in the process of setting up units. The appointment of one equal opportunity officer may scarcely be enough, yet institutions may feel they have fulfilled their commitment to equal opportunity by appointing one such person.

It is essential that equal opportunity officers are considering the employment opportunities open to members of both the general and academic staff. Nonetheless, because it is from the current group of students that future staff are drawn, it is important that equal opportunity officers have responsibility to enhance opportunities for students. Whether the duties of the equal (employment) opportunity officer should be separated from the equal (student access) opportunity officer is something each institution should decide, but both are equally important.

Affirmative action

Much has been written about the systemic discrimination in the personnel practices and selection processes operating in institutions. The statistics which are available show that there are a disproportionately small number of women academics in higher educational institutions. In 1983, women represented only 2 per cent of university professors and 9 per cent of colleges of advanced education staff above senior lecturer level.

Affirmative action is defined in the Commonwealth Government's *Green Paper on Affirmative Action for Women* as a 'systematic means of achieving equal employment opportunity (EEO) for women'. Affirmative action programs in institutions of higher education are a way of ensuring that the institutions' employment practices (recruitment, selection and promotion) will be based on individual merit. Affirmative action requires that institutions undertake positive steps to expand opportunities, provide management 'learning' structures and develop appropriate support structures for women in management. Institutions can provide this support, for example, by encouraging women to serve on faculty and departmental administrative and policy committees. Males should all feel uncomfortable if sitting on a committee, with an institution-wide brief, without a significant proportion of females.

The Government's participation measures as announced in the Guidelines, provide funding for an additional 1,600 academic staff and 900 non-academic staff for universities and colleges of advanced education by 1987. This increased allowance is designed to facilitate achievement of the goals of increased student participation in higher education commenced in 1984 and continuing over the triennium. The Government has indicated that it will provide funding for 6,000 additional enrolments in 1985 rising to 11,000 by 1987 and that it will support an increased intake of 1,300 new students in 1985 (including a significant proportion of places to be allocated to Aborigines). The Government has recognised that these measures will require the appointment by higher education institutions of additional staff and is providing support funding. The Commission emphasised in its Volume 1 Report that the

> single most helpful measure which the Government could take to improve opportunities for female staff in tertiary education would be to support the growth proposed by the Commission

which was related to enrolment targets and funding proposals. The Government has taken up the challenge and the increased provisions for staff will provide institutions with the opportunity to practice and scope to demonstrate their positive commitment to affirmative action.

Staffing in the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission illustrates that women's limited participation in educational management is not confined to institutions, although recent developments highlight the progress that can be achieved given positive commitment to participation by women in management. The picture for the Office is somewhat similar to that in institutions. In 1977 of the 90 officers in the Office, 42 were women. In 1984 of the 92 Officers, 48 are women. These women occupy positions in the Third and Fourth Divisions. Women are not represented among the six officers in the Senior Executive Service (the senior management) nor were they in 1977. Since 1977, however, there has been an improvement in the numbers of women in positions at the top of the Third Division. In 1984 there are four women at Clerk Class 10 level and above, whereas in 1977 there were none. In 1977 there were three women officers at Clerk Class 9 level, in 1984 there are seven. The comparable figures

for men are as follows: in 1977 there were ten men at Clerk Class 10 level and above, in 1984 there are eleven; in 1977 there were thirteen male officers at Clerk Class 9 level and in 1984 the figure is nine.

The legislation under which the Commission and the three Councils (that is, Universities Council, Advanced Education Council, and TAFE Council) have been established requires among other things that the Commission consist of a Chairman, a Commissioner concerned particularly with universities, a Commissioner concerned particularly with colleges of advanced education and a Commissioner concerned particularly with TAFE institutions. The Councils are to be chaired by these Commissioners. This has clear implications for the number of women filling positions on these bodies. There are, for example, no women vice-chancellors of universities or principals of colleges of advanced education; in the TAFE area there are few women at the level of principal or in senior teaching or administrative positions. There have been marked improvements, however, in the numbers of women serving on the Commission and Councils since their establishment in 1977. In 1977 there were four women on the Commission and the three Councils; that is, one woman on each body. In 1984 there are ten women serving as members of the Commission and the Councils; that is, two each on the Commission and the Advanced Education Council, and three each on the Universities and TAFE Councils. Thus women currently comprise one-third of the total membership, although there are no full-time women members, nor has there ever been. The changes in women's participation in the Commission and the Councils indicates what can be achieved through positive commitment to women.

Conclusion

At the last conference of the Australian College of Education on *The Participation of Women in Educational Management*, recommendations were made which referred specifically to the Commission. The recommendations included directions for the Commission's Volume 1 Report, provisions for submissions received from the Commission and its Councils under the *Freedom of Information Act*, suggestions for the development of the Commission's information bank, and on the guidelines for CTEC Evaluative Studies. Throughout this paper comments have been made on the Commission's recommendations to promote equity in Volume 1 of its *Report for 1985-87 Triennium*. The Commission publishes its advice on issues through reports and the advice received from its Councils. For example, over the past 12 months the Commission has published its Volume 1, *Report for 1985-87 Triennium*, the Advice of its three Councils, the *Report of the Working Party on Outer Metropolitan Areas*, *Advice of the CTEC on Amalgamation of Institutions at Armidale and Newcastle*, and *Submission to the Committee to Review the Australian Overseas Aid Program*, to name a small selection. All documents in the Commission's possession are subject to the provisions of the *Freedom of Information Act* and decisions on release are taken on a document basis. Extensive work is currently being undertaken on the further development of the Commission's data bank. Another recent development has been the establishment of the Educational Equity Section within the Office of the Commission.

The Government is strongly committed to providing greater equity and broadening access and Senator Ryan recently announced the first significant injection of additional resources into the tertiary education sector for more than seven years. This paper has discussed and identified some of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission's plans for equal opportunity in the 1985-87 Triennium. A positive commitment by institutions to provide equality of opportunity for students and staff will do much to ensure the success of the Commission's plans.

This Conference on *Women in Higher Educational Management: The Way Forward* comes at a time when the Commonwealth Government has just released its Guidelines for the forthcoming triennium. In these Guidelines considerable emphasis is placed on the responsibilities of tertiary education to redress inequity. It is now for the institutions to take up the challenges and opportunities the Government has given, and for the Commission to support the institutions as thoroughly as it can.

Institutions will not be able to say 'we need more money to do it', although some new money has been provided. Their real challenge and the Government's expectation is that they address equity issues in an honest and ongoing way within the total resources they have available to them.

THE GOVERNMENT ROLE IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES: AN ADVANCED EDUCATION COUNCIL PERSPECTIVE

Maureen Bickley

Introduction

This paper addresses three aspects of the Advanced Education Council's role in the achievement of equal opportunities. First, the recommendations in the report to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) and the Minister, secondly, a discussion of factors within the sector that may encourage or inhibit equal opportunities and finally, funding options and the question of earmarking.

Advanced Education Council Report

In the Volume 1 *Report of the Advanced Education Council* special attention was paid to increasing the flexibility available to, and hopefully the responsiveness of, the sector in the provision of equal opportunities.

> The Council believes that because of the ...Government's wish to improve educational equity, the advanced education sector needs to be flexible enough to acknowledge as legitimate new needs and responsibilities.
>
> (para 4.37)

Much of Dr Ramsey's paper on CTEC deals with views supported by the Council and this paper draws your attention to four proposed initiatives in the Council's Report.

(i) *Entry Requirements*

The Council urged all institutions to re-examine entry requirements with a view to expanding the opportunities for disadvantaged groups (para 4.20). In a pioneering statement the Council recommended the use of affirmative action at entry point in quota courses.

> The Council believes that in the case of courses where entry is determined by quotas there is merit in an approach which exercises flexibility at the margin of the particular quota. Such an approach embodying the notion of affirmative action would give preference (in instances where several applicants have equal credentials for selection to the course) to any from disadvantaged groups, and, in the assessment of credentials would include consideration of the relevance of students' backgrounds for the particular course. Such an approach would allow that charactertistics of disadvantage could be perceived as a positive credential at the margin.
>
> (para 4.22)

(ii) *Bridging and Student Services*

Bridging has not previously been accepted as a legitimate role for advanced education.

The support in the Government Guidelines for the Council's view that support services for students are an integral part of equal opportunities is most pleasing. The academic tutors of the university collegiate residences are the predecessors of the support and enclave structures needed in the advanced education sector.

The necessity for support in mathematics and science has been recognised as a vital part of teacher training, but now can be seen as one of the mechanisms which will enable women to access a wider selection of advanced education courses. The acceptance of child care as an educational access issue and its support by CTEC is a sharp departure from statements in the 1982-84 triennium report.

(iii) *Structural Flexibility*

Entry into the Law Faculty at the University of Western Australia is at the end of any successful first year course within the university. Half of the students in this faculty are now women. The Council recognises that increased institutional flexibility such as common first year courses (foundation years), summer schools, transfer arrangements and two-tier courses will enable women and other disadvantaged groups to reduce their educational and occupational segregation. Again the report encourages institutions to respond, and positively legitimises the innovations of some progressive institutions.

(iv) *Mature Age Entry*

It should be remembered that any boundary between 'youth' and 'mature age' is arbitrary. The Council uses 17-24 years as the limits of 'youth' and 25 years plus as 'mature age'. The Council pointed out the lack of community understanding of the mature-age student issue (para 3.25).

> Of this group of mature age students, 72 per cent were seeking to obtain a first higher education qualification, 14 per cent were enrolled in diploma to degree conversion courses in teacher education, and 14 per cent already possessed a higher education qualification and were enrolled for a second or subsequent award.
>
> (para 3.26)

The Council pointed out that 45 per cent of mature-age students were female. This was noted in the Government Guidelines also, however the Council report strongly recommended no reduction in the rate of mature age entry.

> When there are economic circumstances which impose severe restrictions on the resources that can reasonably be provided to enhance educational opportunities, it is inevitable that hard decisions must be made about relative priorities. The Council accepts this reality, but it is firmly of the view that if restrictions on mature-age entry are seen to be necessary for resource reasons, then the maximum restriction should be the maintenance of current participation rates for mature age student over the 1985-87 triennium (compared to an average annual rate of increase of 8 to 9 per cent over the period 1976 to 1982).
>
> (para 3.28)

We believe our Report has relaxed many of the unnecessarily harsh restrictions on the ability of the sector to respond flexibly to the challenge of equal opportunities. The ball is now in the institution's court, to use this flexibility and to develop initiatives as a tangible indication of good will.

Sector Characteristics

The advanced education sector is diverse with institutions falling into four groups:

(1) Central Institutes of Technology - Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Western Australian Institute of Technology, South Australian Institute of Technology, Queensland Institute of Technology and New South Wales Institute of Technology.

(2) Multi-purpose Metropolitan Colleges - Chisholm Institute of Technology, Phillip Institute of Technology, Brisbane College of Advanced Education, etc.

(3) Regional Colleges - Riverina College of Advanced Education, Capricornia Institute of Advanced Education, Bendigo College of Advanced Education, Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, etc.

(4) Specialist Colleges - the Agricultural, Health Sciences and Teachers Colleges, etc.

Anyone involved in change should recognise those aspects within the sector which will either promote or inhibit the achievement of equal opportunities. The conclusive aspects include:

Socioeconomic composition

The Council's *Learning and Earning Report* indicated that the Advanced Education system has been more successful than the universities in catering for middle and lower socioeconomic groups (para 3.37). This, together with cost considerations, is certainly behind the agreement by CTEC and the Government that 70 per cent of the triennium growth should occur in the advanced education sector.

With this growth comes the capacity for change. However before it is naively believed that changing sectoral relativities is the solution to access, the conclusion of the oft-quoted Anderson and Vervoorm study *Access to Privilege* should be noted:

> ... All the comparisons of the socio-economic backgrounds of university and college students carried out to date have shown that university students tend to have higher socio-economic background than their college counterparts, though often the difference is much smaller than might be expected: college students are much more like university students in terms of socio-economic background than either are like the population generally.
>
> (para 3.85)

Women

The college sector has been the provider of many of the sex-stereotyped courses for women - teaching, social science and health science. As such the sector might be expected to be less intimidating to women students. The flexibility of courses, bridging and support services mentioned above might therefore serve to widen choices once females enter the sector. (No doubt eyebrows were raised when the new Chair of CTEC, Hugh Hudson suggested recently that it might be quite proper to extend transfers between sectors so that completion of a first year at a CAE might be fully credited in some of the restricted university faculties.)

Staff

Growth of the sector will enable a greater rate of change in staffing composition than has been possible for the past five years. The Government's Guidelines refer to 1600 additional academic staff and 900 general staff. It might confidently be expected that 70 per cent of those positions will occur in the advanced education sector. This could benefit women in three ways: the growth will enable the extension of tenture to many of the experienced women currently occupying positions below senior lecturer status within institutions; the institutions will have an opportunity to use affirmative action in the selection of new staff; and finally, internal promotion procedures will be reviewed.

Sectoral missions

As Professor Segal outlined in his paper the universities notion of academic independence can often become an excuse for inaction. The vocational mission of the advanced education sector, together with its commitment to working closely with industry and government, means the sector is ideally placed to respond to the new initiatives. The lifting of restrictions on the sector's ability to innovate may see this difference become more pronounced.

Aspects which might inhibit change include:

Technologies

The advanced education sector contains some of the most 'masculine' courses of study, for example, engineering and agriculture. The move in the past five years from teacher training to business studies and the technologies has meant a relative expansion of 'male' courses at the expense of 'female' courses. The emphasis by the present Government on new technologies generates a greater opportunity for institutions actively to increase female participation in these 'male' courses. For without interventionist strategies the accelerated shift of student numbers into the technologies and business studies will increase the opportunities for masculinity in the sector. This potential growth in masculine courses comes at a time when female participation rates in high schools are higher than ever before.

Location of growth

Moves to redress the present low participation rates in outer metropolitan areas will see the growth in student numbers concentrated in the outer metropolitan suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney. Conflict between the achievement of two aspects of equal opportunities may operate here. Female participation rates from migrant and poorer families remain at a low level. Widening the access of disadvantaged socioeconomic groups may generate increasing masculinity of the student body. Careful targeting by institutions may be needed to balance these competing interests.

Structure of the sector

There has been some comment about the cumbersome structure of CTEC and its Councils. The Minister has requested Hugh Hudson, the incoming Chair of CTEC, to undertake a review. While the Government is obviously committed to interventionist policies in education, the five-fold decision process, Government, CTEC, Councils, State authorities and individual institutions, may produce difficulties in communicating and monitoring policies. Any opportunities for increasing communication between the Council and institutions will be welcome. The Council already visits two states each year to increase its understanding of local issues. The resolve for change developed in the Council's advice should not be diluted by the structure of the system.

Statistics

A requirement of any strategies for change is that they must embody mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the results of actions. A key requirement is to develop a statistical base to enable institutions and the Council to measure their success in achieving equal opportunities. Statistics in male/female classifications are becoming more common but data on Aborigines, ethnic groups and socioeconomic status is poorly developed. The sector must make every effort to ensure that its measurement tools are keyed to the achievement of equal opportunity.

Funding Options

Given these positive and inhibiting aspects of the sector, what financial means are available to the Council for the promotion of equal opportunities? It is argued by some that the two options available are 'no strings attached recurrent grants' to facilitate the initiatives of individual institutions or the 'earmarking' of the maximum amount possible to produce a 'carrot' response from the sector. Untied funding is argued to be more flexible, allowing individual institutional initiatives. These initiatives, as the product of internal decisions, are more likely to be sustained than externally imposed requirements. Alternatively, there may be some truth in the argument that the Council does not have the detailed knowledge required for close targeting of individual institutions.

The earmarking alternative is supported by those whose experience leads them to believe that nothing will happen without specific funding. In addition, the earmarking of funds may be the best way to ensure accountability from the institutions. Finally, in times when the sector has increasing numbers of marginally funded students there may be strong pressure to use any additional recurrent funds for existing deficiencies rather than new equity issues.

CTEC gave its support for the earmarking of equity funds in its report:

> We recommend that a relatively small but separate fund be established to promote further measures which will help to improve access to higher education by disadvantaged groups, including more pilot projects of the type being conducted in 1984 and awareness programmes... We believe that the most flexible and effective response would be to provide earmarked funds for higher education to promote special activities of the kind outlined above.
>
> (para 3.104)

However, the request by CTEC for $4m in 1985 and $8m in 1986 and 1987 was met by an offer of $1m in 1985 in the Government Guidelines. Given this very marginal nature of the earmarking the Council needs to develop new initiatives in the use of the bulk of recurrent funds.

The Council is developing an approach to the distribution of recurrent funds. Although details are not yet finalised one approach which would give the Council the best of both worlds - untied and earmarked - would be to provide the bulk of funds by untied recurrent funding together with strong guidelines to state authorities regarding the Council's desires to see the funds used for increasing equal opportunities. These guidelines could be followed by a statement of the Council's determination to monitor closely the progress of the States and individual institutions in the achievement of their goals in 1985. The funding by CTEC of major developments in its statistical collections will facilitate the work of the Council. This option for the Council would reinforce the statement in the Government Guidelines that the Government has provided funding for growth and ...

expects in turn, continued co-operation from the institutions in achieving the objective of broadening access over the triennium.

Individual institutions should be forewarned of these options and encouraged to submit progressive proposals to their state authorities. Institutions should develop proposals which go to the heart of the problem and not simply marginalise equity responses. The ability of the sector to achieve change will certainly be a major element in the discussion by the Government of funding for 1986 and 1987. Growth of the sector will not magically produce equity. Interventionist policies adapted to the individual institution must be the basis of the new triennium.

Finally as mentioned in Dr Ramsey's paper, the Council has two women members, Rhonda Galbally and myself. There is no question in my mind that the Report would have been different without our involvement.

APPENDIX 1 RECOMMENDATIONS

The Conference Planning Committee for the National Conference on Women in Higher Educational Management: The Way Forward presents the following resolutions to the Council of the Australian College of Education. The recommendations arose from Conference workshops, were presented to the final plenary session for preliminary endorsement and then forwarded to all participants for endorsement. Recommendations in Section A were passed by a 95-100 per cent majority, in Section B by an 80-94 per cent majority and in Section C by a 75-79 per cent majority.

SECTION A

It is *recommended* that the Australian College of Education endorse the following general principles:

- The fundamental right of women and men to share equally in the benefits of all higher education programs and to be equally responsible for their management;
- Equitable representation of women and men in policy formulation and decision-making in higher education;
- Improved access to professional development in higher education management, which may entail special provision for women;
- Improved information collection and dissemination relating to higher educational management.

These principles are reflected in the following recommendations to the Australian College of Education and to education authorities in Australia.

It is *recommended* that the Australian College of Education transmit all of the Conference recommendations to the following groups:

- Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission
- Vice-chancellors of universities, directors and principals of colleges of advanced education and heads of other tertiary institutions, including TAFE
- Ministers and Shadow Ministers of Education, Employment and Women's Affairs, State and Commonwealth
- State Coordinating Bodies for Higher Education
- Australian Education Council
- Federation of Australian University Staff Associations, Federation of College Academics and other academic and general unions for tertiary staff
- Office of the Status of Women and The National Women's Consultative Council
- Women politicians, State and Commonwealth
- State Premiers' Women's Advisers

- Australian Institute of Tertiary Educational Administrators
- Australian Association for Research in Education and Higher Educational Research and Development Society of Australia
- Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration, National and State bodies
- Women's networks

THE AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION (ACE) and THE INSTITUTE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION (IHE)

It is *recommended* that ACE:

. ask each Chapter of ACE, if possible in conjunction with IHE, to organise and support a seminar on *The Federal Green Paper : Implications for Higher Education*, by the end of 1984;

. ensure that the ACE/IHE national project on women in higher educational management continue, in response to needs identified locally and regionally.

COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT

It is *recommended* that the Commonwealth Government through the Minister for Education and Youth Affairs:

. be commended for establishing the pilot Affirmative Action Program in three institutions;

. remedy the non-representation of tertiary women's groups on the Working Party on Affirmative Action;

. note that this Conference registers its disappointment that the National Technology strategy (Discussion draft) does not address the impact of technological change on women and that the National Priorities stated on page 1 of the document fail to acknowledge the special need for retraining for women and for increased technology education for girls.

COMMONWEALTH TERTIARY EDUCATION COMMISSION (CTEC)

Policy

It is *recommended* that CTEC designate equal opportunity (EO) in education and employment and affirmative action (AA) as important priorities for higher education.

Funding

It is *recommended* that CTEC, in selecting projects for funding under its Evaluative Studies allocation, give priority to those in accord with the Guidelines and in particular to investigations relating to women in management roles in higher education.

Structure

It is *recommended* that CTEC establish a National Equal Opportunity in Higher Education Working Party, to investigate:

- the conditions under which effective EO policies might be implemented;
- the data base needed to support such policies;
- the coordinating machinery needed to foster the effective implementation of policies in Australian tertiary institutions;
- the kinds of professional development programs needed to promote EO, and what role CTEC might play in their sponsorship.

Statistics

It is *recommended* that CTEC:

- give priority to improving its data base;
- publish detailed data with regard to staffing and degrees awarded, by both discipline and gender.

Personnel

It is *recommended* that CTEC:

- note that with funding constraints there are concomitant higher teaching loads with consequent deterioration of academic working conditions, which have discriminated against non-tenured academic staff completing degrees in order to prepare adequately for tenured appointments or promotion;

- propose institutional reviews of the discriminatory effects of Ph.D. regulations, including residential requirements, the use of external supervisors, and support services, including child care services and postgraduate counselling;

- require institutions to establish appropriate support and career counselling services (for example, child care);

- propose institutional reviews of the conditions, status and prospects of tutors.

Professional Development

It is *recommended* that CTEC institute formal staff development programs, including special training programs designed to equip women for higher educational management.

ADVANCED EDUCATION COUNCIL

It is *recommended* that AEC:

. be advised that the Conference:
  - endorses the affirmative action proposals included in its advice to the Commonwealth Government;
  - endorses its advice to the Commonwealth Government to move nurse education into CAEs at the earliest possible time;

. be advised that the Conference objects to the use of financial sanctions on institutions that do not voluntarily undertake affirmative action and supports affirmative action legislation and positive financial inducements and rewards as the appropriate strategies for ensuring institutions undertake affirmative action;

. advise the Commonwealth Government to provide subsidised accommodation for affected country students to replace the benefit of residential nursing accommodation, which will be phased out when hospital based nurse education ceases;

. develop a coherent policy and a clear statement on rights to staff development for general staff in CAEs, with a special emphasis on improving opportunities for women;

. establish a network of women-in-research with a view to sharing information on curriculum vitae, preparing research applications, identifying research programs relating to women;

. publish an annual report on Women's Studies research.

THE OFFICE OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN (OSW)

It is *recommended* that OSW:

. forward the forthcoming Guidelines on Affirmative Action in Universities and Colleges to all institutions so that they may begin the process of familiarisation and planning;

. set up a networking system to:
  - gather information on currently existing and proposed action programs;
  - update this information on a continuing basis;
  - disseminate this information to all institutions.

STATE GOVERNMENTS

It is *recommended* that State Governments:

. ensure that appointments to governing and coordinating bodies of tertiary education institutions include persons with knowledge of, and empathy with EO issues in relation to women, migrants, Aborigines, the disabled and low socioeconomic status groups;

. ensure that major government communications, especially those relating to EEO and funding, should contain a directive that the information be made available to all members of councils of tertiary institutions, so as to assist members of the councils of higher education institutions to contribute effectively to the good government of the institutions.

STATE COORDINATING BODIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

It is *recommended* that State Coordinating Bodies for Higher Education collect and disseminate statistics on the initial level of appointment to higher education institutions by sex, age, qualifications and disciplinary area.

TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

Policy

It is *recommended* that the governing bodies of all institutions of higher education:

. establish a policy on equal opportunity to include:
  - the establishment of an EEO office as a separate unit within the institution;
  - the appointment of an EEO officer at a senior level to report to the Chief Executive;
  - the establishment of an appropriate standing committee reporting to Council to support the EEO unit and to monitor the implementation of the policies;
  - the provision of adequate resources;
  - the setting of quantifiable objectives;
  - the setting of target dates;

. examine all policies which are developed, with a view to minimising discriminatory practices.

Funding

It is *recommended* that all institutions of higher education demonstrate a commitment to professional management practice through allocating adequate funds for:

- the implementation of the above policy;
- appointment of staff development officers, and the establishment of development programs for all staff, especially general and non-academic staff;
- the provision of training and development in EEO principles and practices and management development programs for all staff;
- the provision of internal funds for innovative programs;
- optional early retirement.

Staffing Policy

It is *recommended* that all institutions of higher education:

. make explicit the criteria and the measure by which merit will be defined, giving proper consideration in establishing these criteria to factors which in the past may have discriminated against women, such as their commitment to teaching, to particular areas of scholarship, or breaks in service (for accouchement or child-rearing);

. establish or reorganise grievance committees to include at least one highly skilled, competent female in possession of all relevant information;

. establish a promotions appeal mechanism which enables the processes used in the selection decision to be reviewed;

. carry out an analysis of career paths and opportunities for general staff to include an examination of:
  - the existence of barriers between categories of jobs;
  - skills/qualifications barriers to promotion/change of job;
  - the responsibility of designated persons for advising employees how to set about seeking promotion;
  - opportunities and time available to upgrade qualifications;

. give women the opportunity for experience and practice in a wider range of jobs, for example through job rotation and higher duties positions.

Professional Development

It is *recommended* that all institutions of higher education:

. demonstrate a commitment to professional management practice through:
  - implementing courses for general staff which will develop their managerial skills and knowledge of their institutions and of the wider tertiary education system;
  - improving communications within institutions so that staff at all levels are aware of the training opportunities available;
  - developing such practices as exchange programs, job rotation, career guidance, performance appraisal, job applications processes, counselling of unsuccessful internal applicants;
  - involving general staff at all levels in the preparation of institutions' EEO plans;

. develop programs for enhancing research/publications skills of female staff;

. review the requirements relating to residency/full time attendance and time limits for existing doctoral programs and establish doctoral programs on an external basis if not in existence;

. give assistance to women to develop skills by:
  - providing training on committees;
  - encouraging open government wherever practicable;
  - recompensing administrative work by leave or additional staffing;
  - drawing attention of staff to relevant issues/policies and encouraging them to interest themselves in decisions.

Research

It is *recommended* that all institutions of higher education investigate, with a view to implementing similar schemes, the University of Melbourne's schemes which:
  - allow the use of some research funds to provide relief from teaching for a defined period for those completing research programs;
  - provide a limited number of research scholarships for those with home responsibilities;
  - provide assistance for 'writing up' awards.

AUSTRALIAN VICE-CHANCELLORS' COMMITTEE (AVCC), AUSTRALIAN COMMITTEE OF DIRECTORS AND PRINCIPALS IN ADVANCED EDUCATION (ACDP)

It is *recommended* that AVCC and ACDP:

. support the conference recommendation for a CTEC National Working on Equal Opportunity;

. sponsor a national meeting of EEO officers in order to liaise and coordinate on the development and implementation of their programs;

. jointly support programs in each State which will enable inter-institutional collaboration in the creation of professional development programs for women in CAEs and universities.

UNIONS [INCLUDING THE FEDERATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITY STAFF ASSOCIATIONS (FAUSA) AND THE FEDERATION OF COLLEGE ACADEMICS (FCA)]

It is *recommended* that FAUSA, FCA and other academic and general staff associations:

. continue to encourage greater participation of women in unions by:
  - encouraging women to stand for positions within the union;
  - giving high priority to issues of importance to women, such as tenure, promotion, redefinition of merit, child care;
  - providing courses to develop skills particularly those concerned in negotiation, management and committee work;

. work together to promote equal opportunity and affirmative action within educational institutions;

. bring pressure to bear against legislation which may appear discriminatory in terms of fractional appointments, for example, superannuation.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF TERTIARY EDUCATION ADMINISTRATORS (AITEA)

It is *recommended* that AITEA national and state training programs incorporate courses for women on all aspects of institutional management.

HIGHER EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES ASSOCIATION (HERDSA)

It is *recommended* that HERDSA convene a section/conference on women in research in higher education.

AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH GRANTS SCHEME (ARGS)

It is *recommended* that ARGS take into account the Government's priorities as set out in the CTEC Guidelines in allocating research funds.

VICE-CHANCELLORS' AND PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION WOMEN'S NETWORK

It is *recommended* that exchange between staff in tertiary institutions be encouraged.

AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION COALITION (AWEC), WOMEN IN TERTIARY EDUCATION AND OTHER WOMEN'S GROUPS

It is *recommended* that members of Women in Tertiary Education and campus based women's groups be encouraged to join the Australian Women's Education Coalition and, as a preliminary step, AWEC is asked to circulate to all women participating in this conference, membership forms and information literature.

PARTICIPANTS

It is *recommended* that all participants:

. follow up the recommendations of the Conference with their institutions and associations;

. make use of networks and associations of women to encourage women to apply for jobs;

. make use of the simulation of job application and promotion processes in women's networks to assist in personal development;

. organise post conference meetings in each State.

SECTION B

THE AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION (ACE) and THE INSTITUTE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION (IHE)

It is *recommended* that ACE:

- establish a National Association for Women in Educational Management as an associate group of the College to include all interested women in primary and secondary education, technical and further education (TAFE), colleges of advanced education (CAEs), and universities, leaving open the possibility that the Association could become independent once it became a viable group in its own right;

- sponsor, in conjunction with IHE, the formation of a National Federation of Women's Groups in Post-secondary Education and that the brief of this Federation should include seeking representation on the Commonwealth Government's Working Party on Affirmative Action; monitoring the pilot projects in tertiary institutions; and seeking to influence the scope and form of the eventual affirmative action legislation.

COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT

It is *recommended* that the Commonwealth Government through the Minister for Education and Youth Affairs:

- be advised that this Conference strongly supports the early enactment of affirmative action legislation binding on all public institutions, including higher education institutions;

- ensure that major communications from the Commonwealth Government, especially those relating to equal employment opportunity (EEO) and funding, should contain a directive that the information be made available to all members of councils or senates of tertiary institutions, in order that members may contribute effectively to the good government of the institutions;

- write to the editorial boards of all Australian-based learned journals pointing out their critical role in ensuring equitable access to the publication by women scholars and that the system of government subsidies to journals and, in particular, publication of research about women, be examined with a view to promoting this objective.

COMMONWEALTH TERTIARY EDUCATION COMMISSION (CTEC)

Funding

It is *recommended* that CTEC:

- advise the Commonwealth Government, in view of the recently enacted sex discrimination legislation, that earmarked grants (with minimal guidelines) would be the most effective way of accelerating the process of the implementation of EO legislation and propose that, initially, earmarked funds be made available on a matching grant basis as an inducement to institutions which wish to take AA initiatives and to assist institutions already involved in such action;

- set aside substantial funds to be allocated differentially on the basis of progress made in providing equality of opportunity for all groups, including improving the situation of women;

- use a proportion of the $1 million Equity Funds mentioned in the Guidelines for 'seed' money for EEO and AA projects in 1985, and that the grant be increased in 1986 and 1987;

- earmark funds for professional development of academic and general staff in addition to normal recurrent funding;

- provide funds from the 1984/85 Evaluative Studies allocation to an appropriate organisation to conduct formative evaluative studies of progress and models adopted by universities and CAEs which have been involved in equal opportunity programs, the outcome to be the production of a manual for use in institutions implementing EO;

- seek Government funding to assist in the establishment and maintenance of transdisciplinary Women's Studies Centres in tertiary institutions, in addition to the establishment of positions in women's studies within existing disciplines. These transdisciplinary women's studies 'centres' should:
  - be autonomous, but draw on staff expertise and on courses already offered in existing departments;
  - offer core courses and coordinate others to enable undergraduate students to major in women's studies;
  - offer programs and supervision for postgraduate studies enabling postgraduate students to graduate with either course work and/or research degrees.

Personnel

It is *recommended* that CTEC:

- amend the Professional Experience Program (PEP) guidelines (Dunbar Report) to ensure that it is possible for people to obtain higher degrees while on PEP leave and specifically to encourage and assist women to do this;

. convene a Working Party on the Status of Tutors to investigate the conditions, status and prospects of tutors, especially since
  - the current position tutor/senior tutor is anachronistic;
  - it is not an apprenticeship;
  - new initiatives are needed for coping with the teaching needs of large service courses;
  - many people currently employed as tutors are academically meritorious and, in fact, in many cases more so than more senior staff in the same departments.

Research

It is *recommended* that, in implementing the recommendations on 'key centres', CTEC give priority to the development of a Research Centre on Women's Studies.

Structure

It is *recommended* that CTEC establish an office on employment and access of minority groups and women.

ADVANCED EDUCATION COUNCIL

It is *recommended* that AEC investigate the development of a national and state program to identify able women and draw them together in a network which gives them access to ideas and skills through seminars, conferences, power, support, experience and direct access to people of influence.

THE OFFICE OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN (OSW)

It is *recommended* that OSW:

. add to their register of women a section on women who are interested in moving around Australia for promotion and experience;

. advise the Advanced Education Council should the Office be unable to keep up to date a subregister of Women in Higher Education in their National Register of Women, so that an alternative register might be funded if necessary.

STATE GOVERNMENTS

It is *recommended* that State Governments review enabling legislation for higher education institutions and authorities to ensure that the composition of governing bodies allows groups, such as women, migrants, Aborigines, the disabled and low socioeconomic groups, to be in sufficient numbers to be influential in the government of such organisations.

STATE COORDINATING BODIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

It is *recommended* that State Coordinating Bodies for Higher Education establish an Advisory Committee on Women in Higher Education:

- to oversee and advise on the development of EO and AA in tertiary institutions;
- to oversee and advise on the earmarking and the use of funds for EEO;
- to ensure that existing and future courses pay due attention to the education and training needs of disadvantaged groups.

TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

Curriculum

It is *recommended* that all institutions of higher education:

. implement the following procedures (developed and used by SACAE) where applicable, in order to reduce the effect of gender bias on course content, structure, assessment and teaching methods:
  - all course accreditation panels should be 50 per cent women;
  - whenever a course, or course strand is presented to the appropriate board for initial accreditation or for review, the following questions should be addressed:
    how the proposal treats the experience of women in the field in which it is offered;
    how the course presents or draws on the scholarship of women in the field;
    how the proposal meets the needs of women students in terms of assessment or mode of offering;

. implement the following procedures to improve the accessibility of mathematics, science and economics subjects and courses to women:
  - a review of entry levels required;
  - the development of bridging and support courses to redress the effect of negative prior experiences and to familiarise students with the technologies used;
  - the experimental use and assessment of gender segregated mathematics/science classes;
  - where possible, the enrolment of significant numbers of women students at any one time, in order to minimise harrassment of individuals and maximise support;
  - in course development:
    the use of inclusive language at all times and the elimination of sexist representations in texts and resources;
    the introduction of topics and examples which relate to the experience and interests of women;
  - the ensuring of equal access for women and men to equipment and resources;
  - the employment of sensitive and informed career counsellors.

Staffing Policy

It is *recommended* that all institutions of higher education:

- reduce the specificity of job descriptions and provide for the active participation of at least one female (external to the department/institution if necessary) in the compilation of job descriptions/person specifications for academic positions;

- centralise selection procedures and include at least one highly skilled, competent female in possession of all relevant information on all selection panels.

Research

It is *recommended* that all institutions of higher education provide 'seed' money for research on women's issues.

SECTION C

COMMONWEALTH TERTIARY EDUCATION COMMISSION (CTEC)

Funding

It is *recommended* that CTEC:

- fund a National Centre for the Professional Development of Women in all areas, one of its tasks being to review the content and direction of existing courses in relation to women's issues;

- beginning in 1985, allocate a minimum of 15 per cent of all research funds to women's research in areas across the range of academic study for a period of five years, as a measure of redress for the past absence of funding. This should address the experience and interests of women, past, present and future; should include comparative studies with males; and the availability of these funds should be widely publicised.

AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH GRANTS SCHEME (ARGS)

It is *recommended* that ARGS ensure that no less than 15 per cent of research funds be allocated to women's studies research for a period of five years, beginning in 1985, and the availability of these funds be widely publicised.

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